

# Weekly Report

the authoritative reference on Congress

WEEK ENDING NOV. 20, 1953

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## 1954 HOUSE OUTLOOK

All-Out Fight Takes Shape As Republicans, Democrats, Not Content To Bid For Marginal Seats In Crucial Election, Invade Each Other's Strongholds

In less than a year the new Republican Administration must meet its first nation-wide test at the polls. At stake will be control of Congress following the 1954 election and a favorable position for the 1956 Presidential race.

The Republicans now control both the House and the Senate by thin majorities. Numerically, their chances of picking up Democratic seats in the Senate add up impressively because there will be 22 Democratic and only 13 Republican seats on the election block. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1251.) But all of the House seats are at stake in the 1954 elections. As each party has approximately one-half of the House membership, the big battle is shaping up around those 435 potential races.

Republicans already are hitting hard on the theme that President Eisenhower must have a Republican Congress, claiming that is paramount if the President is to have an opportunity to put his programs through Congress. But the Democrats find that it is already "time for a change" from "big business government," from "giveaway programs" and from falling farm prices.

#### SOUTH MIGHT TIP BALANCE

During the long Congressional recess this year Congressmen of both parties have been busy fence-mending in their home districts. Neither party wants to chance losing the districts it now holds. Should the Republicans lose the four they won in the traditionally Democratic South in 1952 and fail to make a net gain elsewhere, they would lose control of the House.

As usual each party is preparing to battle for districts which were won by a close vote in the previous election. To this end Chairman Richard M. Simpson (R Pa.) of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee and Chairman Michael J. Kirwan (D Ohio) of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee have been making "on-the-spot" checks of the close districts during the current Congressional recess.

But for the 1954 battle the major parties are not confining themselves to the usually close districts. Each party is looking over areas hitherto considered pretty much the private preserve of the other. For example, Republicans are busy trying to build up strength in such

historically Democratic territory as the South and the big cities. It adds interest that the GOP is attempting both campaigns at the same time. In the past, it has been hard to sell these areas on the same types of programs and campaign issues.

The Democrats, on the other hand, are looking to the Midwest and the fast-growing suburbs to try to make inroads in the traditionally GOP farm and heavy GOP suburban vote. Democrats were delighted -- and even surprised -- when they won, for the first time the rural Ninth Wisconsin and as presently constituted, the partially suburban Sixth New Jersey district. They hailed these recent special elections as the shape of things to

#### ADMINISTRATION ON TRIAL?

Because so much depends on the 1954 House races both parties, and the Republicans in particular, are stressing the importance of top-flight campaigners among their party nominees in 1954. Personality of the candidate and local issues often swing mid-term elections. But the Democrats are going to do their utmost to put the Eisenhower Administration on trial in the 1954 campaign.

#### Eisenhower's Victory

The 1952 election showed that President Eisenhower was much more popular with the voters than were the Republican nominees for Congress.

The President polled 33,778,963 votes for the nation's highest office, more than the total ever polled by any other President, including Franklin D. Roosevelt. A record number of votes were cast and Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential nominee, polled 27,314,992. Mr. Eisenhower carried 39 states and won 442 electoral college votes to 89 for Stevenson.

Mr. Eisenhower carried 295 Congressional districts while GOP nominees for Congress carried only 221. Mr. Eisenhower carried 38 districts in the South and border Tennessee, and 257 districts outside the South. Had Republican Congressional nominees carried an equal number of districts, the GOP would have won a comfortable margin in the House rather than the slim 221-213 (plus

one independent) which has since been reduced by special elections.

In the 1952 Congressional elections the Democrats polled nearly as many votes as the Republicans, although they won fewer House seats. Democratic nominees for the House polled 28,336,127 to the 28,399,286 tallied by Republicans.

Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell of the Democratic National Committee thinks the Democrats' chances of recapturing the House in 1954 are excellent. He says that in 1952, when the ballots were almost evenly divided in the Congressional races, "one out of every five Democrats voted for Ike" and the Democrats easily should outdistance the Republicans in 1954.

Chairman Leonard W. Hall of the Republican National Committee thinks the trend which began in 1950 and gave the Republicans the White House and Congress in 1952 will continue in 1954 -- providing the GOP is able to put its program through Congress next year and providing that program has more "political "it" "than Administration measures have had to date.

## **Death And Resignations**

Through deaths and resignations and subsequent defeats at the polls, the Republican party could lose its majority in the House, just as it already has lost its majority in the Senate. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1251.)

To elect a Speaker and hold the Committee chairmanships and the lion's share of the other offices and patronage requires a majority. The current party lineup in the House is:

219 Republicans 215 Democrats 1 independent 435 Total

So, 218 seats are necessary for the slimmest possible, but absolute, majority.

The Republicans won 221 House seats in the general election Nov. 4, 1952. The Democrats won 213, and Frazier Reams of Ohio, the lone independent, retained his seat.

Two days after the election, Adolph J. Sabath (D III.) died. E. E. Cox (D Ga.) died on Dec. 24, 1952. (CQ Almanac, Vol. VIII, p. 31) When the Congress opened on Jan. 3 there were two vacancies in the Democratic ranks, and the House membership was 221 Republicans, 211 Democrats and Reams. Later the two vacancies were filled by Democrats.

Since the 83rd Congress got underway, vacancies have occurred in six seats, three of them previously held by Republicans, three by Democrats. Three vacancies were due to resignations of Republicans Norris Poulson of California and Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, and of Democrat Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia. Deaths of Democrats Joseph R. Bryson of South Carolina and Garrett L. Withers of Kentucky, and of Republican Merlin Hull of Wisconsin caused the others.

In special elections, the Democrats not only filled the three vacancies which occurred in their ranks -- they also picked up two of the three seats previously held by Republicans.

PAGE 1344 Copyright 1953, Congressional Quarterly News Features The close GOP margin has caused considerable concern in GOP ranks. Chairman Hall, of the National Committee has noted that the GOP margin of control in the House is so slim that the Eisenhower Administration "does not even dare ask a Congressman to resign and assume important duties in the Executive branch." And an Iowa Republican publication recently pointed out that "every time a Republican catches a cold nowadays, it threatens our contol" of Congress. "The miracle drugs have taken on a political significance," it said.

#### MORE VACANCIES LIKELY

A CQ check of deaths and resignations which occurred in the House during the past four Congresses indicates that there are likely to be more vacancies before the end of the 83rd Congress.

On the average, there were 11.5 deaths and 7.5 resignations in the House in the 79th - 82nd Congresses, as compared with three deaths and three resignations in the House so far in the 83rd.

Republicans are more likely to suffer additional deaths in the House because they have more members over 65 than do the Democrats. As of the end of 1953, there will be 34 Republicans and 25 Democrats who are 65 years or over.

Should two more Republicans die or resign and their seats be filled by a Democrat, there would be an exact division in House membership. The Democrats think that independent Frazier Reams, a former Democrat, would vote with them. Reams told CQ on Nov. 10 that if there were a tie in the House the question would be "national, not political" and he would vote as the circumstances dictate at the time. As an independent, Reams has voted "present" on organization roll-calls.

If Reams did not vote there would be a deadlock in organizing the House. There have been two such deadlocks in the past 100 years. When Congress convened in December, 1855, the House was unable to elect a Speaker and did not break the deadlock until Feburary, 1856. A two-day deadlock occurred in the House in December, 1923, because an insurgent group of Republicans refused temporarily to go along with the regular GOP leaders.

## Repetition Of The 72nd?

Will the Republicans lose control of the House during the 83rd Congress as they did in the 72nd Congress, when the last Republican Administration was in office?

The Republican sweep in 1928 gave the GOP the Presidency and solid control of both the Senate and the House. House membership was 270 Republicans, 164 Democrats and one Farmer-Labor. But in the general election on Nov. 4, 1930, the GOP House membership was whittled down from 270 Republicans to 218. The Democrats elected 216 members and one Farmer-Labor member was re-elected.

Between the Congressional elections Nov. 4, 1930, and Dec. 7, 1931, when the 72nd Congress met 14 vacancies occurred in the House. The Democrats made a net gain of three districts at the expense of the Republicans prior to Dec. 7. This gave them a membership of 219, one more than enough to organize the House. They added another seat later, so that when the Congress concluded the membership line-up was 220 Democrats, 214 Republicans and one Farmer-Laborite.

#### WHERE DEMOCRATS GAINED

The Democratic gains were made in Michigan, New Jersey, New Hampshire and Texas, in these districts (\*indicates number does not correspond to present district because of redistricting):

8th Michigan: Michael J. Hart (D) was elected to replace Bird J. Vincent (R), deceased, Nov. 3, 1931. The District had been held by a Republican for 32 years prior to this upset. Then, as now, upstate Michigan was considered solidly Republican, and Hart's win caused as much comment as the election of Lester R. Johnson (D) in the Ninth Wisconsin District on Oct. 13, 1953. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1243.) Hart took his seat on Dec. 7, 1931.

14th\* Texas: Richard M. Kleberg (D) replaced Harry W. Wurzbach (R), deceased, Nov. 24, 1931, and took office on Dec. 7, 1931. Wurzbach had retained his seat in 1930 only after an election contest. Kleberg's election returned the District to its traditional Democratic column.

5th\* New Jersey: Percy H. Stewart (D) replaced Ernest R. Ackerman (R), deceased, Dec. 1, 1931, only the third time Democrats had elected a Congressman in the District since 1873. Redistricted the following year as the Sixth New Jersey, the District sent Republicans to Congress until Nov. 3, 1953, when the Democrats elected Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1311.)

1st New Hampshire. William N. Rogers (D) was elected to replace Fletcher Hale (R), deceased, Jan. 5, 1932, and took office on Jan. 20, 1932.

## Doubtful, Marginal Districts

The unusually large number of doubtful and marginal districts, on the basis of election percentages, pointed up the closeness of the House contest in the 1952 election.

CQ found that statistically, 167 House seats are doubtful and marginal. This is more than one-third of the House. The number of such districts by party:

	Doubtful		Marginal
R -	41	R -	55
D -	46	D -	24
Independ Total	ent - 1 88	Total	79

A doubtful district is a district won by less than 55 per cent of the vote. A marginal district is won by from 55 to 60 per cent. In these less-than-60-per-cent districts, each party is considered to have a chance to win in 1954, as distinguished from a safe district held in 1952 by an election percentage of 60 or more.

Election percentages are not necessarily a guide to future elections, but are a fairly good yardstick. In 1952, there were notable upsets in two safe districts. The First Kansas, which had been won by the GOP by 66.5 percent of the vote in 1950, went Democratic for the first time in history because of a local controversy over a flood control dam. The Sixth Virginia District did not even feature GOP opposition in 1950, but it went Republican in 1952 because of strong Eisenhower sentiment and because of an aggressive campaign waged by the Republican Congressional candidate.

One other district won by 60 per cent or more in 1950 changed parties in 1952 -- the First Arizona. But of 159 districts rated safe after the 1950 election and on which 1952 comparisons can be made, 156 stayed with the same party and a total of only 20, including the three which switched, fell below the 60 per cent mark.

#### CLOSE IN 35 STATES

On the basis of election percentages, 35 states have doubtful and marginal districts for 1954. All districts were close in Arizona, Delaware, Nevada, New Mexico and Rhode Island in the 1952 election.

Pennsylvania and New York have the greatest number of doubtful and marginal districts, with 15 each. Other states with numerous close districts are California 13, Illinois 11, Ohio 10, Indiana 10, and Missouri, Michigan and New Jersey seven each.

Other states with large numbers of close districts in accordance to total representation are Colorado with three of four; Connecticut, five of six; Idaho, one of two; Kansas, four of six; Kentucky, six of eight; Maryland, four of seven; North Carolina, four of 12; Oregon, two of four; Oklahoma, three of six; Massachusetts, five of 14; Montana, one of two; Washington, six of seven; West Virginia, five of six; Virginia, four of 10, and Utah with one out of two.

By party, California, New York and Pennsylvania have the largest number of doubtful Democratic districts, with four each; while Kentucky has the largest number of marginal districts, also four.

In 1952, Republicans had a rugged time pulling through House contests in Pennsylvania, where there are six doubtful Republican districts. There are large numbers of marginal GOP districts in six states. Indiana and New York each have seven, Illinois six, California and Ohio five each, and Michigan four.

(For complete list of doubtful and marginal districts, by states, see page 1354.)

#### GOP Looks To Cities

No area offers the Republicans bigger lure to fish for votes than large cities, both north and south of the Mason-Dixon line. While suburbs of cities often are overwhelmingly GOP, the centers of metropolitan areas are usually just as strongly Democratic.

But the political climate of urban areas is changing today -- and the Republicans hope in their favor. Population within the urban centers often is either stationary or growing only very slowly because city workers are moving to fringe areas and suburbs.

Until about 30 years ago the cities particularly along the Atlantic Coast were receiving influxes of immigrants. Immigration has slowed in the last generation and this has slowed Democratic party recruiting. Municipal governments of most large cities were Democratic, and Democratic ward leaders helped the new American get a job, get settled, and encouraged him to be a Democrat. His children do not need such help.

These changes in the political structure of urban areas cheer Republicans although they still have a long way to go before they can count on a heavy urban vote.

While the GOP Presidential tickets ran well in the cities in 1948 and in 1952, the Republicans did not make a comparable showing in the Congressional districts covering urban areas.

#### GOP AT CITY LIMITS

Chairman Hall of the GOP National Committee pointed out these facts in a speech Jan. 17, 1953, at a Committee meeting in Washington.

"We have been at the city limits of the big cities since 1940," Hall said. "In those 12 years we have crossed into the big cities only once -- and that was in the 1946 Congressional election when we won 246 House seats. We never deluded ourselves about that victory either. The size of the GOP majority in the House that year was due primarily to the meat shortage which the Truman administration had handled so badly. When housewives had to line up in major cities for two or three hours simply to buy meat, the results were bound to show up at the polls -- and they did.

"Despite the tremendous showing President Eisenhower made in the big cities in the 1952 election, we have still not penetrated beyond the city limits so far as Congressional seats are concerned," Hall told the Committee, and unless and until the Republicans can "sell themselves" to the city electorate, "I do not think we are going to have much better than slim majorities in the House."

#### DEMOCRATS' EDGE

In the 20 largest cities outside the South the Democrats have the edge on city representation, and they have solid control of all Southern cities.

There are 96 Congressional districts in the nation's 20 largest cities outside of the South; 53 are held by Democrats and 43 by Republicans, according to a CQ analysis.

The majority of the Congressional delegation of New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, Cleveland, St. Louis, Newark and Denver is Democratic.

The delegations from Chicago, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Boston, San Francisco, Milwaukee and Minneapolis, are split between the Democrats and Republicans.

The majority of the Los Angeles delegation is Republican, and Cincinnati, Buffalo, Seattle and Indianapolis have all-Republican delegations.

The fairly high Republican representation in Congress from the urban areas is due, in part, to Congressional districting. Most state legislatures are Republican, and they have often combined suburban areas with city districts to cut down on the Democratic vote and also often have kept down Congressional representation from urban areas.

#### DISTRICTING TO GOP ADVANTAGE

Pittsburgh is an example of combining urban with suburban areas to GOP advantage. Pittsburgh has a split delegation, with two Democrats and two Republicans representing parts of the city. But only one Democrat, Herman P. Eberharter, represents the city proper. He represents almost twice as many city wards as the two Republicans together.

In his district, the 28th, there are 17 city wards. In the 26th district represented by <u>James G. Fulton</u> (R) there are only five city wards, and in the 29th district represented by <u>Robert J. Corbett</u> (R) there are only four. Fulton and Corbett's districts are mainly suburban, where the GOP strength lies. The 30th district, held by <u>Vera Buchanan</u> (D), includes four Pittsburgh wards, suburbs, and industrial McKeesport.

New York City is an example of an urban area which lost districts as a result of redistricting, thereby cutting sharply into Democratic strength.

In 1952 the New York legislature redistricted the state and in doing so cut out two New York City districts, although the city has 55 per cent of the state's population. Kings County (Brooklyn), overwhelmingly Democratic, had nine Congressional districts prior to redistricting. Now it has to share two Congressmen with neighboring counties, Queens and Richmond (Staten Island). The 12th, a long, narrow district which winds through the whole of Kings County, was so drawn that a Republican was elected in Brooklyn in 1952 for the first time in many years. The representation of New York County (Manhattan) was cut down.

The results of redistricting and the good run that President Eisenhower made in New York City showed up at the polls in November, 1952. The New York City 24-man delegation had been overwhelming Democratic in the 82nd Congress (1951-53) with 21 Democrats to three Republicans. The delegation now has only 22 members, 15 Democrats and seven Republicans. The net loss to the Democrats was six Congressmen.

Despite GOP efforts to carve Republican territory in metropolitan areas, it has a constant battle to keep the urban districts that it already controls.

The CQ survey shows that of the 48 urban districts in the 20 largest non-Southern cities held to be safe -- won by more than 60 per cent of the vote in 1952 -- only 14 are Republican, while 34 are Democratic. Democratic strength is most heavily consolidated in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and Detroit districts. On the other hand, there is a considerable consolidation of GOP strength in Chicago and Los Angeles districts.

While the Democrats have more than double the number of safe districts claimed by the Republicans, the Republicans hold one-third more doubtful and marginal districts in the urban areas. There are 48 such less-than-60-per cent districts in the 20 largest cities outside of the South, 29 of them Republican and 19 Democratic, of these 11 Republican and 13 Democratic districts are doubtful, won by less than 55 percent of the vote; 18 Republican and six Democratic are marginal; won by from 55 to 60 per cent of the vote.

#### **ELECTION BLUES**

Municipal elections on Nov. 3 gave the Democrats a big boost, the Republicans election blues.

The Democrats wrested control from the Republicans in the mayoralty contests in Buffalo, Akron (first time in 10 years), Columbus (first time in 12 years), Davenport, Iowa (first time in 20 years), New Haven, Conn. (first time in six years), Zanesville, Ohio (first time in 30 years) and Elyria, Ohio (first time in 22 years).

The Democrats overwhelmingly elected a mayor in New York City, and continued to hold the mayor's posts in Albany, Pittsburgh, Louisville, Cleveland, Springfield, Mass., Detroit and Scranton. A group of Democrats and Independent Republicans wrested control of the Cincinnaticity council from the regular GOP organization.

The Republicans made gains in a number of municipal contests in Philadelphia and in judicial contests in Chicago, re-elected GOP mayors in Little Rock and Waterbury, Conn., and wrested the mayoralty of Syracuse from the Democrats. Although Harold Riegelman got only 30 per cent of the vote in the New York City mayoralty contest, his was the highest vote received by a Republican since Fiorello La Guardia won the post as a Republican in 1934.

### GOP And The South

The Republican Congressional Campaign Committee and the Republican National Committee believe that for the first time since the Civil War the Republicans really can "crack" the so-called "solid" South in Congressional races.

Chairman Hall of the National Committee has engaged the services of James McKillips of New Orleans as his adviser on the South. McKillips is encouraging GOP organization work in nine states, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, and the border state of Tennessee. (At present, Virginia is not under his jurisdiction.)

Republicans have held few offices in these states since post Civil War days. One big break occurred in the South in 1928, however, when there was much opposition to Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic Presidential nominee and a Catholic, mainly on religious grounds. Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia gave their electoral votes to Herbert Hoover, the Republican standard-bearer.

In addition to the traditionally Republican First and Second Districts of Tennessee, the Republicans also carried the Ninth and 10th Districts in North Carolina, the 14th Texas, and the Second, Seventh and Ninth districts of Virginia. (These numbers are not comparable to the present districts in these states because of redistricting.)

#### EIGHT IN '28

Republicans elected to the 71st Congress from the South and border Tennessee were: Charles A. Jonas (Ninth N.C.), George M. Pritchard (10th N.C.), B. Carroll Reece (First Tenn.), J. Will Taylor (Second Tenn.), Harry M. Wurzbach (14th Tex.), Menaclus Lankford (Second Va.), Jacob A. Garber (Seventh Va.) and Joseph C. Shaffer (Ninth Va.).

But in 1930 the South reverted to its old voting patterns, and only three of this number were re-elected. . Those who won were Taylor, Wurzbach, and Lankford. Wurzbach's election was contested, but a Republican Congress seated him. Wurzbach died in office and was replaced by a Democrat in a special election in 1931, and Lankford was defeated in 1932.

Republican fortunes in the South remained at ebb until 1932. Except for the First and Second Districts in Tennessee, the South remained solidly Democratic although occasionally a Republican put up a fairly stiff fight. Then, in 1952, big cracks appeared in the Democrat's strongholds in the South. There was much voter dissatisfaction with the Fair Deal program of President Truman, especially his aggressive campaign on civil rights. Texas-born General Eisenhower, who had little political background and the appeal of a military hero, was an attractive candidate to many Southerners who had never before voted Republican.

Furthermore, when small old-line Republican organizations in the South attempted to line up delegates for Sen. Robert A. Taft (R Ohio), many Southerners watched with keen interest as Eisenhower proponents sought to overturn the old-line Republican leaders and elect Eisenhower delegates to the Republican National Convention. The battle for Southern Delegates was one of the high points of the Convention.

After Eisenhower's nomination was secured partly through Southern backing, the new GOP Presidential nominee did not forget the states south of the Mason-Dixon line. He was the first Republican Presidential standard-bearer to campaign extensively in the South.

On election day, President Eisenhower carried Florida, Texas, Virginia, and Tennessee. He came within 5,000 votes of carrying South Carolina on an independent ticket.

For the first time since 1928, Republicans made significant gains in Congressional seats in the South. In addition to the First and Second Tennessee Districts in which Republicans reelected B. Carroll Reece and Howard H. Baker, respectively, they elected Charles Raper Jonas in the 10th North Carolina district and three Congressmen in Virginia: Richard H. Poff in the Sixth, William C. Wampler in the Ninth and Joel T. Broyhill in the 10th. They just missed carrying the First in Florida. Martin Dies (D) won, with Republican endorsement, the new at large seat in Texas. By picking up four districts in two Southern states the Republicans gained a majority in the House which enabled them to organize it in January.

#### EISENHOWER'S SOUTHERN STRENGTH

The 10 Southern states and border Tennessee have 105 Congressional Districts. According to a CQ survey President Eisenhower carried 38 Congressional districts, scattered over eight of the Southern states and Tennessee. In 22 of these districts there were no Republicans running for Congress. Here are the districts won by the President (\* -- Indicate Districts in which there were no GOP Congressional nominees):

Republican Congressional nominees won in six Southern districts, all of them carried by Eisenhower -- the First and Second of Tennessee, the Sixth, Ninth and Tenth Districts of Virginia and the North Carolina Tenth.

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President Eisenhower carried three of the South Carolina districts as an independent. The only Southern states in which he failed to carry a district were Alabama and Georgia, and in Alabama Republicans had Congressional candidates in the Fourth, Seventh and Eighth Districts. Other Southern districts in which there were GOP Congressional nominees and which the President did not carry, were the First and Second Louisiana, the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth North Carolina, the Second Texas and the Second, Fourth and Fifth Virginia districts, and the Fifth district in border Tennessee.

So the GOP had no Congressional candidates in 22 districts which Eisenhower carried, and did enter candidates in 17 Southern districts which he did not.

Obviously, the Republicans' best 1954 chances of picking up Congressional seats in the South are in districts won by President Eisenhower. Much effort will be made to put up candidates in the so-called "Eisenhower" districts or to endorse candidates the Republicans feel reflect their views.

After making particularly good showings in the 1952 general elections in the Presidential and Congressional races and in the 1953 gubernatorial election, Virginia Republicans are going to try hard to hold on to the three Congressional districts they have and to add one or two more.

North Carolina Republicans report that Rep. Jonas (R) is doing well in his 10th district, and they hope to put up attractive candidates in the other western North Carolina districts, particularly the Ninth, which they lost by only 4,000 votes in 1952.

In Texas, Republican National Committeeman Jack Porter has said that the Republicans will back a candidate in the Eighth district (Houston), which the President carried handily, and probably in the 18th District which had a Republican Congressman in 1950 following a special election in which the Democrats divided their votes among 10 Democratic candidates. Texas Republicans did not direct their energies toward electing GOP Congressmen in 1952, as they sought to gain bipartisan support in a drive to put Texas in the Eisenhower column, but endorsed Sen. Price Daniel (D), Gov. Allen Shivers (D) and Martin Dies (D). Daniel and Shivers campaigned for Eisenhower in Texas.

Republicans are preparing to renew their efforts to win the First and Seventh West Coast Florida districts in 1954, after making a particularly strong showing in these districts in 1952. They lost the First by only 1,863 votes.

#### GOP ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH

Republicans intend to build "grass roots" Republican organizations in the South and put up slates of candidates on local, county, district and state levels where the party has a chance of winning or of attracting new voters. The type of candidates offered will be of vast importance, for here, more than anywhere else, is the Republican party "on trial" with the voters.

In some areas Republicans may decide it is wiser to back an independent candidate than to run a candidate on the GOP ticket. This is particularly true in a state like South Carolina. Running on an independent ticket in 1952, President Eisenhower nearly carried this bastion of the

South. The Republicans believe that many voters in South Carolina have left the Democratic party permanently, are not yet ready to enroll as Republicans, but would be willing to vote for attractive candidates running as independents. President Eisenhower has had strong backing in South Carolina from Gov. James F. Byrnes (D).

While the GOP National Committee and Congressional Campaign Committee will encourage Southern Republicans to run candidates or endorse independents, the decisions will be left to state and local GOP leaders and the Republicans within each Southern state.

#### PATRONAGE USE IMPORTANT

But the days are numbered when Republican state organizations can continue to be "closed corporations" operated by a few in the hope that some day they might have a lot of patronage plums to distribute. According to one Dixie GOP leader, "For the first time since the Civil War it is respectable to be a Republican in the South."

Patronage will go to those who show aptitude for enlarging the GOP. Old-line leaders who kept their organization small will be out. Republicans feel that the judicious use of patronage can be one of the most important weapons the Administration has to pave the way for a two-party system in the South.

Republicans would like to organize particularly two main groups in the South: The young and the independents. They are encouraging the spread of Young Republican clubs throughout the South and are giving these groups credit for significant contributions to the GOP movement. Among the victories which have been credited partially or wholly to Young Republican workers are the election and re-election of Pratt Remmel as mayor of Little Rock, Ark., and the election of two GOP county commissioners in Muscogee County, Ga., on March 25. (CQ Weekly Reports, p. 401, 1311.)

Republicans hope to continue and expand the Citizens for Eisenhower clubs in the South. These attract independents, and in 1952 they provided much of the enthusiasm and drive for the Eisenhower movement. Though many of these recruits are political amateurs, they gained valuable political experience in the 1952 campaign.

Where Republicans already have made inroads in local elections, they have particularly high hopes for bigger triumphs at district and state levels. Little Rock and Bel Air, Tex., a suburb of Houston, have GOP mayors and Republicans hold a number of local and county offices in three Florida counties; Pinellas, Manatee and Sarasota, and in Muscogee County, Ga.

#### HISTORIC PATTERNS

"Once we can get over the mountains, we really will have a foothold in the South," the Republicans say. Historically the Democratic Party always has flourished in the lowlands and tidewater areas and in the cotton country of the South. But there has been considerable Republican strength in the mountain sections of southwestern Virginia, eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina and northwestern Arkansas. This pattern emerged as a result of the War Between the States. The mountaineers did not own many slaves, held no monetary gain under the system, and many were cool to the Confederacy. Their politics differed from those of their lowland neighbors, and still do.

Other areas, often far removed from the state capital, have a tradition of independence in politics. This is particularly true of the northwestern counties of Louisiana, always the bulwark of opposition to the Long organization. Winston county, Alabama, one of the three in the state to go for Eisenhower in 1952, has a long record of independence dating back to the Civil War when it refused to go along with the Confederacy and declared itself the state of Winston, loyal to the Union. Republicans feel that in such areas they can make a particularly strong case against the prevailing Democrats.

The Democratic Party also has been strong in the farm areas and in areas where there has been little population influx. Weaknesses have shown up in the Party in Southern industrial areas and in those parts of the South where there have been major population changes. This is true in Texas and Florida. Industrialization leads to a complicated social structure more conducive to a two-party system than the historic farm economy, and newcomers from two-party states are likely to bring their politics with them.

## The Midwest

No area in the country will get more attention from political leaders and organizers than the Midwest in the 1954 election. Missouri, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana are particularly marked for activity because so many districts in those states have changed hands in the past four elections. Unless the Republicans can hold the big vote they won in both the farm and industrial areas in 1952, they probably cannot keep control of the House. And dissatisfaction in the Midwest with falling farm prices gives the Democrats hopes for this area which gave them the margin of victory in 1948.

The 1954 Republican prospects in the midwestern farm areas were set back Oct, 13 when for the first time in its history, a Democrat was elected in the Ninth Congressional District of Wisconsin. Political leaders interpreted the election as an indication of discontent among farmers over falling farm prices. Ninth District voters, who had re-elected the late Merlin Hull (R) by a 2-1 vote in 1952, elected Lester R. Johnson, a Democrat, by a 9-7 margin in the special election. Johnson said that Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson was "quite an issue." Benson had spoken in the District during the campaign, but did not outline a farm program. Democrats sent two former Secretaries of Agriculture, Charles F. Brannan and Claude R. Wickard, into the district to criticize the Eisenhower Administration's farm policy. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1243, 1294.)

#### INDUSTRIAL AREAS

Despite their showing in the Ninth Wisconsin, Democrats say their best chances of picking up seats in the Midwest are in industrial, rather than farm, areas. They did well in the industrial areas in 1948 so far as House races were concerned, but lagged behind former President Truman in the rural districts, where he made a surprisingly good showing. Disturbed over the crop storage problem and other farm issues, the Midwestern farmer tended to vote for Mr. Truman and a Republican Congressman in 1948, just as the Southerner showed a tendency in 1952 to vote for President Eisenhower and a Democratic Congressman.

Among the Midwestern districts that the Democrats are eyeing for pickups are the Third, Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, and 11th Indiana Districts; the Sixth, 12th, and 17th Michigan; the Fourth and Sixth Missouri; the Third, 14th and 16th Ohio; the Third and Fourth Illinois; and the Fifth Wisconsin District. Most of these are industrial. The Democrats won all of these Indiana districts and the Wisconsin district in the 1948 election. Several were recently redistricted, and most of them were won by close votes by the Republicans in 1952.

As for the rural areas, a lot of farmers would have to be "hurting real bad," Democrats say, before they would elect a Democrat to Congress. Johnson in the Ninth Wisconsin, Howard S. Miller in the First Kansas and Fred Marshall in the Sixth Minnesota are the only Democrats from the Midwest representing basically rural districts.

In North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas there are 14 Congressional districts, but only one is represented by a Democrat. Howard S. Miller won the First Kansas district in 1952 in a bitter controversy over the Tuttle Creek dam. As construction of the dam has been halted, Democrats are fearful of losing this District in 1954.

In the past four elections Democrats have won in only one other of these 14 Midwestern districts, the Second Nebraska, which is urban Omaha, in 1948. Eight of the districts went GOP by more than 60 per cent of the vote in 1952 and one Republican Otto Krueger of North Dakota, had no Democratic opposition.

#### GOP EYES 23 DISTRICTS

The Republicans have their eyes on 23 districts in eight Midwestern states. Most of these seats were won by less than 55 per cent of the 1952 vote, and 11 are now held by Republicans and 12 by Democrats. President Eisenhower carried all but three of these districts. They include both industrial and farm areas.

Bernard L. Lamb, director of field organization for the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, stressed their importance at the GOP Midwestern conference held in Chicago Sept. 18. He noted that nine of the 12 seats in these marginal districts now held by Democrats were lost by Republicans by a total vote of 57,000, although President Eisenhower carried the districts by 175,000 votes. Workers must try to persuade voters in these districts to vote for Republicans to help President Eisenhower put his program through Congress, he said, and must work to hold the 11 GOP districts in this group because their loss might well mean the loss of House leadership.

Analyzing the returns from the 23 Midwestern districts that were most closely contested, CQ found that only one of the victorious Republicans had a greater margin than did Eisenhower. He was Rep. William H. Ayres of the Ohio 14th, who won by 31,412 while Eisenhower was topping Stevenson by only 2,087 in his District.

In the three districts where he led, Stevenson's margin in each case was less than that of a winning Democratic House candidate.

Of the 23 districts in point, four each are located in Illinois, Indiana and Missouri; five are in Ohio, two

each in Michigan and Minnesota, and one each in Kansas and Wisconsin.

#### MIDWEST MARGINS

	Dist.			Congre	ssman's	Won By			
State	No.	Member	Party	Ma	rgin	Eisenhower	Stevenson		
-	Charles and	and the same of th	-	R	D				
III.	2	O'Hara	D	****	5,173		3,383		
	3	Busbey	R	16,789	****	19,293			
	9	Yates	D		7,856	4,379			
	21	Mack	D	****	8,778	19,819			
Ind.	1	Madden	D	****	21,570		16,648		
	3	Crumpacker	R	19,063		25,560			
	7	Bray	R	19,383	****	21,569			
	8	Merrill	R	10,456		21,617			
Kan.	1	Miller	D		3,946	61,530			
Mich.	6	Clardy	R	11,581		39,549			
	14	Rabaut	D		13,661	4,546			
Minn.	3	Wier	D		9,688	3,892			
	6	Marshall	D		7,277	31,878			
Mo.	4	Hillelson	R	12,089		18,360			
	6	Cole	R	8,191		20,175			
	8	Carnahan	D		7,447	1,553			
	11	Moulder	D		1,258	15,889			
Ohio	3	Schenck	R	4.774		17,063			
	6	Polk	D		324	20,224			
	14	Ayres	R	31,412		2,087			
	16	Bow	R	15,925		31,846			
	18	Hays	D		16,196		3,081		
Wis.	5	Kersten	R	7,035	****	22,107	****		

## **Democrats And Suburbs**

In addition to efforts to pick up districts in the Midwest, the Democrats are making a campaign for gains in the suburban areas around large cities. This will be a long-range project but, Democrats say, of prime importance in keeping up with population changes.

Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell of the Democratic National Committee outlined the problem in a speech before the Evanston Democratic Club Oct. 12.

"One of our crucial objectives--from an organizational standpoint--must be to penetrate suburbia," he said. "Since the war our large cities have literally exploded into the surrounding countryside. The total growth in the population of the United States in the last six years has been 15 million. But the growth in the suburban areas has been 17 million. That means that all of the net growth in the United States has taken place on the edges of our cities, and all the rest of the country has suffered a net decline. And this growth is still going on, at the rate of two or three million a year."

But the Republican Party has been the beneficiary of much of this growth, Mitchell said, because it has worked to organize the suburbs and been successful. The Democrats, on the other hand, have tended to give up on such areas on the ground that "it's hopeless to organize there."

He maintained that if this defeatist attitude could be overcome and if Democrats organized clubs in such areas, they would soon bring together many persons with mutual interests. Such organization would ultimately cut into the high election percentages now registered in such areas by Republicans -- highly important to Democrats in tight, state-wide races.

At the present time, Mitchell said, a woman moving into the suburbs from urban areas is often forced by social pressures to change her politics in order to be "accepted" by her neighbors. He told this story to illustrate his point: When a member of a labor union moved

into a suburb, he usually remained as strongly Democrat as ever. But his wife often went through a severe mental conflict.

During the daytime she would mix with the other women on the block, and found that if she sounded like a Democrat she just wasn't being accepted in the community. Despite her husband's leanings toward the Democrats, the wife very frequently went along with her neighbors and voted Republican. And sometimes, after the wife was converted to the GOP, the husband was converted too, Mitchell said.

He noted that Illinois Democrats were inclined to think that downstate Illinois counties were the most rockribbed Republican of all. "But if you check the figures for the 13th Congressional District, which includes Evanston and the other North Shore suburbs, and for the 14th Congressional District, which includes some of the Western suburbs, you will find a higher proportion of Republican votes than in any other Congressional district in the entire state," he said. "In these two Districts, our Congressional candidates got less than 30 per cent of the vote."

#### CHICAGO -- TREND CONTINUES

At the rate that the population is moving from the city of Chicago to the suburbs of Cook County, this GOP trend is likely to continue unless the Democrats take counter-measures.

Cook County Clerk Richard J. Daley released figures on Sept. 16 which indicated that the number of precincts in Chicago proper had shown a net decrease of 76 in the past year, while 28 suburban townships in the county had shown a net increase of 60 precincts. The reasons given for the decrease in the Chicago precincts were slum clearance and the construction of the Congress street superhighway.

The townships showing increases are all in Congressional districts represented by Republicans except one, Stickney, represented by Democratic Congressman John C. Kluczynski of the Fifth District. All of the other townships are located in districts represented by Republicans: William E. McVey (R) of the Fourth, Richard W. Hoffman of the 10th, and Marguerite Stitt Church of the 13th, as the following summary shows:

Fourth District (R) -- Chicago and townships south of Chicago.

Township	Increased No. of Precincts
Bloom	1
Bremen	3
Calumet	1
Lyons	4
Palos	1
Rich	1
Thornton	9
Worth	5
	Decreased No. of Precincts
Lemont	5
Net total	20

Fifth District (D) -- Chicago and Stickney township southwest of city. Stickney showed an increase of one in its number of precincts.

Tenth District (R) -- Chicago and townships and cities west of Chicago.

Township	<b>Increased Number of Precincts</b>
Oak Park	1
Proviso	12
River Forest	1
Total	14

Thirteenth District (R) -- Cook County townships and other areas north and west of Chicago, and Lake County.

Township	Increased Number of Preci
Evanston	1
Leyden	4
Maine	6
New Trier	3
Northfield	4
Norwood Park	3
Palatine	1
Wheeling	3
Total	25

#### SIMILAR PATTERN ELSEWHERE

The growth of the Chicago suburbs is duplicated all over the country. Areas showing particularly heavy population growth are Westchester and Nassau counties on the outskirts of New York, the outlying towns of Los Angeles County, the suburbs around Detroit, and in the large Southern cities like Dallas, Houston and Miami.

"Thousands of people are moving into these areas every year, and these areas are going heavily against us," Mitchell pointed out.

But recent elections in the suburban communities and in small towns near big metropolitan centers indicate that the Democrats have an opportunity to crack these areas.

Democrats won mayoralty races in October in Torrington, Bristol, East Haven and West Haven, Conn. West Haven, a New Haven suburb of 32,000, went Democratic for the first time in a municipal election since 1933.

In elections this month the Democrats not only won a number of mayoralty races in traditionally GOP upstate New York, but they cut down the GOP's customary 3-1 vote margin to 2-1 in Westchester county and won control of the city council in Yonkers. They cut the GOP election percentage from 73 to 62 per cent in Nassau county, and won control of Levittown, one of the nation's

big new housing developments with a large veterans' population.

Moreover, in the Sixth District of New Jersey, about 50 per cent suburban and 50 per cent industrial, the Democratic nominee, Harrison A. Williams, Nov. 3 defeated his Republican opponent in a special election. This is the first time that Union county, which comprises the District, has sent a Democrat to Congress since 1931. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1311-12.)

In appraising the factors which led to his victory in a district which had been overwhelmingly Republican in the 1952 election, Williams said that he had run surprisingly well in the residential areas. He said that he felt the Democrats could materially cut into the GOP vote in suburban districts if they could persuade good candidates to run. As the result of his race, he said he was "heartened" about Democratic chances in his type of district.

Chairman Hall of the National Committee had compaigned in the district for the GOP ticket. After Williams won in a close contest, and after appraising GOP losses in gubernatorial and municipal contests, Hall commented: "There is no question about it -- as of today we are in trouble politically." But Hall predicted that the Republicans will do better after President Eisenhower gets his program rolling next year.

## Statehood, Redistricting

In addition to winning elections, political parties have, at present, two other possible means of picking up House seats.

One would be to grant statehood to Alaska and Hawaii. The population of Hawaii entitles it to two new Representatives, Alaska to one. However, Hawaiian statehood legislation which was passed by the House March 10 carried an amendment, approved on the floor by teller vote, cutting Hawaiian representation in the House from two to one Member. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 333.) Republicans are confident that Hawaii, traditionally GOP, would send a GOP delegation to Congress. Democrats think they would gain from Alaskan representation.

The other means of picking up seats in Congress is by redistricting Congressional districts in a state to give the advantage to one party. Where the state legislature is Republican, the redistricting usually is to the advantage of that party, and vice versa. A Republican legislature in Massachusetts is now redistricting the Bay State to the advantage of the GOP. The intention of proposals before the legislature is to cut down the Democratic strength in the Second and Fourth Districts now held by Reps. Edward P. Boland (D) and Harold D. Donahue (D), and to add to the Republican strength of the shaky Eighth District, won by Angier L. Goodwin (R) in 1952 by only 3,800 votes. The net result of the Massachusetts redistricting legislation would be to add two GOP districts to the delegation now split 8-6 in favor of the Republicans.

## ELECTION PERCENTAGES: 1946-52

This exclusive CQ chart shows the election pattern for the 80th, 81st, 82nd and 83rd Congresses. Districts consistently won by over 60 per cent of the total vote seldom change politically. Districts in the 55 to 60 per cent bracket are key districts, but most of them stay in the same party. Districts which normally elect Representatives by less than 55 per cent of the total vote are usually doubtful and can go either way. Figures under the appropriate year columns pertain to winning candidate in each election, not necessarily to present holder of seat. Members are listed as they were elected, Nov. 4, 1952, with special elections in footnotes.

	1952	1950	1948	1946	-		1952	1950	1948	1946	-		1952	1950	1948	1946
ALABAMA			-			9 Landrum (fi) 7 Lanham (fi)					MAI					
3 Andrews (D) 9 Battle (D)			87.0	94.1	-	Preston (D)					-	Hale (R) MoIntire (R)	61.6	54.0	62.5	59 6 72 9
1 Boykin (D)		- :		94.1	-	6 Vinson (D)		-:-	-:			Nelson (R)	66.3	57.7	67.2	60 7
7 Elliots (D)	72.5	-		72.7		B Wheeler (D)	- :	:	- :	-		YLAND	00 3	2//	0/2	60 /
2 Grant (D)					IDA		-		-	•		Devereux (R)	61.4		New	
8 Jones (D)	87.3		88.0	92.4	-	2 Budge (R)	66 2	57.1	50.7	60.7		Fallon (D)	54.7	-		
5 Rains (D)						Pfost (D)	50.3	50.5	51.9	50.6		Friedel (D)	51.4		Districting	2
4 Roberts (D)		93.7	85.0	88.1	ILLI	NOIS					1	Garmatz (D)	70.9	45.7	68.8	63.9
6 Selden (D)		*	82.0	,ж	1	6 Allen (R)	06.5	67.3	58.5 N	lew District	1	Hyde (R)	57.8	619	55.3	58 2
ARIZONA					1	7 Arends (ik)	63.6			New		Miller (R)	61.1	57.0	52.4	50.9
2 Patten (D)	56.9	69.1	62.8	New		5 Bishop (R)	56 2			Districting	1	Small (R)	50 4		New District	
1 Rhodes (R)	54.0	60.6	58.4	Districting		9 Chiperfield (R)	60.8	59 0		lew District		SACHUSETTS				
ARKANSAS						1 Mack (D)	52.4		New	Districting		Bates (R)	×	71.4	73.8	70 2
1 Gathings (D)			NEW			5 Mason (R)	63.6	63 3	56.4 N	lew District		Boland (D)	51.8	53.7	53.5	51.4
4 Harris (D)	*					4 Price (D) 1	64.8	64.9	69.5 N	ew Districtin	9 10	Curtis (R)	54.3	54.2	63.3	64.0
5 Hays (D)	78.8					4 Reed (R)	71.5	74.2	68.3 N	lew District		Donohue (D)	54.4	55.0	56.4	50.5
2 Mills (D)			DISTRICT	ING		O Simpson (R)	618			New		Goodwin (R)	50.9	51.2	48.0	63.5 59.4
6 Norrell (D)						2 Springer (R)				Districting	-	Heselton (R)	67 1	66.2		
3 Trimble (D)	\$6.0					B Velde (R) 3 Vursell (R)	55.2 58.1	61.6		ew District		Lane (D) Martin (R)	74.7	74.2	74.2	61.8
		55.3	51.4	56.2		CAGO Cook Con			New	Districting			63.2	61.8	84.0	63.6
7 Allen (R) 13 Bromblett (R) 1	51.0	52.1	31.4 H	53.1		Busbay (R)	54.5		Na			McCormack (D)	<b>82.2</b> 59 I	77.3 55.2	53.4	517
6 Condon (D)	50.6	32.1	- 5	33 1		Church (R)	70.6		New			Nicholson (R) O'Neill (D)	69.3	75.1	79.0	72.7
8 Condon (D) 2 Engle (D)	30.0				-	Dawson (D)	73.5		Distriction			Philbin (D)	67.3	69.1	70.5	62.2
10 Gubser (R)	59.2				-	Gordon (D)	59.0		PARTICIAL	y .		Rogers (R)	75.9	74.0	80.9	71.9
14 Hagen (D)	\$1.0					Hoffman (R) 1	65.0	66.5	58.1		13	Wigglesworth (R)	60.6	59 9	54 1	67.5
12 Hunter (R)	*					Jonas (R)	55.7	00.3	39.1		MIC	HIGAN	00.0	27.7	34.1	01.3
11 Johnson (R)	*				-	Kluczynski (D)	64.5		New Distric	tina		Bennett (R)	58.2	61.7	56.5	546
4 Mailliard (R)	55.0		New		1	McVey (R)	56.6		Digitic			Bentley (R.	66.6	60.5	61.3	73.2
8 Miller (D)				-		O'Brien (D)	63.1				10	Cederberg (R)	67.5	66 2	63.3	717
3 Moss (D)	50.8					O'Hara (D)	51.4		New Distric	ting		Clardy (R)	52.6	52.8	49 8	57.7
29 Phillips (R)	×		Distriction	g g	11	Sheehan (R) 1	59.4	56.7	50.8	-		Dondero (R)	56.2		New Distric	
1 Scudder (R)	×					Yates (D)	52.4	-	-			Ford (R)	66.3	66.7	60 5	716
5 Shelley (D)					7	Sabath (D) (3)	70.0					Hoffman (R)	66 6	68.6	64.9	73.2
27 Sheppard (D)	\$5.0					ANA					11	Knox (R)	593	66.5	63.6	66.0
28 Urr (R)	63.0					Adair (R)	63.7	56.2	50.8	60.1	2	Meader (R)	63.4	50 4	55 8	718
30 Wilson (R)	59.6					Beamer (R)	56.9	54.1	51.9	56.5	3	Shafer (R)	62.0	61.4	59.4	69.8
9 Younger (R)	53 1				7	Bray (R)	56.1	50.0	53.7	51.5	9	Thompson (R)	59.5	54.5	58 5	72.2
Los Angeles County						Brownson (R)	59 3	56.5	50.6	51.4	7	Wolcott (R)	60.3	63.0	59.0	748
23 Doyle (D)					3	Creatificates (44)	54 5	52.8	51.9	56.1		it-Wayne County				
21 Hiestand (R)	53.6					Halleck (R)	59 3	57.2	55.2	61.9		Dingell (D)	66.7	64.1	65.0	52.1
25 Hillings (R) 1	64.3	60.1	×	56 7		Harden (R)	55.7	52.4	49.9	57 9	16	Lesinski (D)	60.7	-	New Distric	
20 Hinshaw (R)	×				10	Harvey (R)	59.9	58.7	52.5	61.3	1	Machrowics (D)	84.2	82.2	83.4	66.3
19 Halifield (D)	*					Madden (D)	56.4	52.6	60.7	52.6		Oakman (R)	52.9		New Distric	
22 Holt (R)	60.4				8		52.6	51.0	55.4	52.3		O'Brien (D)	64.8	61.4	62.5	53.0
18 Hosmer (R)	55.5		New			Wilson (R)	56.4	54 9	51.6	56.3		Robaut (D)	53.0		New Distric	.1
16 Jackson (R)	59.7				low						MIN	NESOTA		61.7	52.5	65.4
17 King (D)	54.6		Districtin	9	2	Cunningham (R)	58 8	56.9	50.8	59.4	7	Andersen (R)	62.6	67.1	61.4	68 3
15 McDonough (R)	×				3	Dolliver (R)	68 7	64.6	55.3	63.4	-	Andresen (R)	69 4	62.9	66.6	57.7
24 Poulson (R) (1)	×					Gross (R) Hilaeven (R)	65.8	64 0	58.3	62.0		Blatnik (D)	62.6	61.9	54.6	63.9
26 Yarty (D) COLORADO						Jensen (R)	67.3	64.1	55 2	68.6		Hagen (R) Judd (R)	59.2	58.7	54 0	58 3
	10.0	57.3	51.9	58.7		LeCompte (R)	61.9	62 0 56 7	56 9 51 5	63 0		Judd (R) Marshall (D)	52.6	56.2	51.7	57.4
4 Aspanall (D) 3 Chenoweth (R)	57.7	51.6	50.7	54.6		Martin (R)	62.8	617	53.5	58.4		McCarthy (D)	61.7	60.4	59.4	52.2
2 Hill (R)	63.1	57.5	51.9	66.7		Talle (R)	62.2	58.8	57.4	59.1		O'Hora (R)	67.7	59.9	63.9	76.0
	50.8	50.3	64.8	52.1	KAN		02.2	36.8	3/.4	34.1		Wier (D)	52.2	51.7	54.6	52 1
1 Rogers (D)	30.8	50.3	64.8	34.1		George (R)	59.5	54.7	55.0	55.3		SSIPPI	34.4	21.0		
3 Cretella (R)	52.8	52.1	49.7	58.9		Hope (R)	70-9	61.8	65.0	62.6	m133	Abernethy (D)		-	New Distriction	ng
1 Dodd (D)	54.0	58.2	54.7	53.1	1	Miller (D)	\$1.5	66.5	60.5	64.3	-4	Colmer (D)		87.9	*	
4 Morano (R)	60 1	55.8	55.2	61.8	4	Rees (R)	59.4	58.9	55.6	56.2		Smith (D)	87.2	*		
5 Patterson (R)	56.7	53.7	51.1	56.6		Scrivner (R)	57.3	52.2	51.9	58.8		Whitten (D)	8		New	-
AL Sadlak (R)	55.0	50.4	49.6	57 6		Smith (R)	62.5	59.5	57.6	60.5		Williams (D)				
2 Seely-Brown (R)	55 5	50.8	\$1.7	55.3		TUCKY	44.5	27.3	27.0	40.2		Winstead (D)	94.1		Districting	
DELAWARE	223	20.0		24.2		Chelf (D)	55.9		New		MISS					
AL Warburton (R)	519	56.7	50.6	56.4		Golden (R)	68.8		Districting	n		Bolling (D)	56.0			
LORIDA			200			Gregory (D)	65.8	-	2.31.6.00		9	Cannon (D)	34.7			
2 Bennett (D)					7		58.2					Carnahan (D)	52.8	-	New	
1 Campbell (D)	50.7		NI.		3	Robsion (R)	54.0	55.5	53 0	58.1		Cale (R)	52.4		Hew	
7 Haley (D)	56.3		New		5	Spence (D)	55.4					Curtis (R)	56.9			
5 Herlong (D)						Watts (D)	56.3		New			Hillelson (R)	53.3			
4 Lantaff (D)	66.0		District		2	Withers (D) (4)	54.4		Districting			Jones (D)	60.7	D	istricti	200
8 Matthews (D)			Distriction	19	LOUI	SIANA					1	Karsten (D)	64.2	U	ISTRICTI	ng
6 Rogers (D)	60.8				2	Boggs (D)	66.4	*	*	90.7	11	Moulder (D)	50.4			
3 Sikes (D)	1	*		1	4	Brooks (D)			*	*		Short (R)	61.7			
BORGIA .					1	Herbert (D)	*		*	91.8		Sullivan (D)	64.8			
10 Brown (D)		×	*	*	8	Long (D)	*	×		*		TANA				
4 Camp (D)		×	*		6	Morrison (D)	*	×	*	×		D'Ewart (R)	62 0	54.1	510	54.6
2 Cox (D) (2)		*		*		Passman (D)						Metcalf (D)	50.3	60.2	67.9	57.6
5 Davis (D)			*	*		Thompson (D)	¥	×	2			ASKA				
3 Forrester (D)					3	Willis (D)		*	66.6		1	Curtis (R)	72.0	54.5	57.2	66.4

## Republican Percentages—Lightface Democrat Percentages—Stackface Independent Percentage—Indias x No major party apposition 1 District Remains Some Geographically, Although Number Was Changed Key

#### Footnotes:

(1) Poulson resigned June 11, 1953, Lipscomb efected Nov 10, 1953. (2) Cox died Dec. 24, 1952, Pilcher sworm in Feb 9, 1953. (3) Soboth died Nov. 6, 1952, Benler sworm in July 13, 1953. (4) Withers died April 30, 1952, Notcher efected Aug. 1, 1953.

Case resigned Aug. 17, 1953; Williams elected Nov. 3, 1953.
 Bryton died March. 10, 1953; Ashmore swarn in June. 15, 1953.
 Stonley resigned Feb. 3, 1953; Tuck, sworn in April 21, 1953.
 Hull died May. 17, 1953; Johnson elected Oct. 13, 1953.

	1932	1950	1948	1946	1	1952	1950	1948	1946	1	1952	1930	1948	1945
3 Harrison (R)	71.9	66.9	648	76.0	11 Jones (D)	62.0	48.9	64.9	58.5	1 Rivers (D)			89.1	
2 Hruska (R)	56.1	63 5	51.4	58.3	12 Shuford (D)	56.9	63.7	63.1	60.5	SOUTH DAKOTA		-	-	
4 Miller (4)	73 3	65.8	63.6	71.3	NORTH DAKOTA					2 Berry (R)	690	60.3	65.9	73.7
IEVADA					AL Burdick (R)	78.4	77.0		77.4	1 Lovre (R)	66.5	60.8	53.5	615
AL Young (R)	50 5	52.8	50.6	58.8	AL Krueger (R)	N	65.6	69.4	71.5	TENNESSEE				
EW HAMPSHIRE					01110					2 Baker (R)	68.9	52.2	58.0	
2 Cotton (R)	66.4	64.5	57.4	64 9	14 Ayres (R)	58.5				8 Cooper (D) 1			91.1	
1 Merrow (R)	60 2	57.5	55.5	59.7	23 Bender (R)	64.6				9 Davis (D) 1			*	
EW JERSEY					8 Betts (R)	68 7	-	New		4 Evins (D)			New	
11 Addonizio (D)	52.2	\$1.6	47.7	61.7	22 Bolton, FP (R)	58.8				3 Frazier (D)	70.0	4.7	New Distric	ting
3 Auchincloss (R)	64.4	62.4	58.5	715	11 Bolton, O.P. (R)	58.8				7 Murray (D) 1			69.2	
8 Confield (R)	62.6	63.6	47.5		16 Bow (R)	54.4		District	ina	5 Priest (D) 1	67.5		81.4	77.1
6 Case (R) (5)	63.9	62.7	55.3	66.2	7 Brown (R)	×			9	1 Reece (R)	65.9	46.5	84.7	- 10
5 Frelinghuysen (R)	62.2	616	57 4	67.1	5 Clevenger (R)	63.2				6 Sutton (D)			New Distric	ting
2 Hand (R)	63 4	54.3	617	43.5	21 Crosser (D)	48.4				TEXAS				
14 Hart (D)	51.5	59.2	62.8		20 Feighan (D)	45.2	50.8			15 Bentsen (D)				
4 Howell (D)	54.7	52.2	61.5	52.6	18 Hoys (D)	55.8	50.8	54.1	58.8	2 Brooks (D)	79.6		93.3	96.3
12 Kean (R)	54.8	53.1	50 8	69 1	2 Hess (R)	56 6				17 Burleson (D)				A. E.
9 Osmers (R)	66 2	57.8	62 2 50 7		10 Jenkins (R)	64 0				AL Dies (D)			New Distric	ting
10 Rodina (D)	56.9	61.0		53 4	19 Kirwan (D)	66.3		New		7 Dowdy (D)				
13 Sieminski (D)	55.1	51.9	68.1		4 McCulloch (R)	68.3				21 Fisher (D)				
7 Widnall (R)	68 3	69 7	56.2	69.0	17 McGregor (R)	68.2				3 Gentry (D)		91.1	98.7	
Wolverton (R)	55.0	56.7	53.0	63.5	6 Polk (D)	50.1		District	ina	13 Ikard (D)				
EM WEXICO			***	52.3	9 Reams (i)	40.9		2	9	20 Kilday (D)	*		75.3	
AL Dempsey (D)	52.0	58.6	58.6		3 Schenck (R)	51.7				12 Lucas (D)		90.6	89.1	87.7
AL Fernandez (D)	52.3	56.4	58.8	52.5	1 Scherer (R)	616				14 Lyle (D)			88.9	*
EW YORK					15 Secrest (D)	64.3				19 Mahan (D)		93.9	95.6	94.7
3 Becker (R)	65.4				12 Vorys (R)	62.3	64 1	52.1	620	1 Patman (D)				
37 Cole (R)	69.4				13 Weichel (R)	58 8				11 Poage (D)			96.3	
2 Derounion (R)	68 8		New Distri	icting	OKLAHOMA	77.4		New		4 Rayburn (D)				93.8
26 Gamble (R)	67.3				3 Albert (D)	20.0				16 Regan (D)			*	
27 Gwinn (R)	58.5		***	69.2	1 Beicher (R)	58.6				18 Rogers (D)		52.5	88.7	74.0
32 Kearney (R) 1	67.4	64.1	55.3	64.5	2 Edmondson (D)	39.2				6 Teague (D)	*			
38 Keating (R)	69.3				5 Jarman (D)	62.4		Districti	na	8 Thomas (D)		77.8	85.5	90.8
33 Kilburn (R)	690				4 Steed (D)	38.7		D.3	9	9 Thompson (D)	*		*	
40 Miller (R)	59.6				6 Wickersham (D)	63.3				10 Thornberry (D)				
30 O'Brien (D)	53.7				OREGON	-			4	5 Wilson (D)	*	4		75.8
39 Ostertog (R)	65 8		New Distri	icting	3 Angell (R)	54 0	50 7	55.5	56.7	UTAH				
42 Pillion (R)	55 2				2 Coon (R)	58.5	55.4	58.2	67.4	2 Dawson (R)	52.5	53.4	57.5	52 7
41 Radwan (R)	55 9				4 Elisworth (R)	66.3		66 6	69 2	1 Stringfellow (R)	60.5	31.1	59.0	50.1
43 Reed (R)	66 2			63.3	1 Norblad (R)	68.0	66.5	63 2	72 0	VERMONT				
35 Rightman (R) 1	63 2	619	50 5	60 2	PENNSYLVANIA	50.2	54.4	51.0	50.8	AL Prouty (R)	71.8	73.4	60.9	643
28 St George (R) 1	65.6	618	60.1	60.2	11 Bonin (R)	20 4	34.4	31.0	50 B	VIRGINIA		-		
36 Tober (R)	69 9				30 Buchanan (D)	63.6				4 Abbitt (D)				
31 Taylor (R)	70.6		New Distri	cting	17 Bush (R)	53.6	_			10 Broyhill (R)	50.2		New Distri	
Wainwright (R)	60.4			69.5	10 Carrigg (R)			New District	ing	3 Gary (D)	57.5		72.9	73.3
29 Wharton (R) 1	69.8	65.8	64.8	94.2	29 Corbett (R)	61.7		671	72.7	2 Hardy (D)		1	41.2	45.8
34 Williams (R)	58.8				9 Dogue (R)	66.2	67.2	40.7	7.86.5	7 Harrison (D)	79.1	40.4	49.4	42.3
EW YORK CITY					28 Eberharter (D) 12 Fenton (R)	58.7 60.7	56.8	New District	62.7	6 Poff (R)	51.5		64.7	65.3
5 Bosch (R)	53.5						26.8			I Robeson (D)		81.0	88.0	75.0
24 Buckley (D)	46.5		_		27 Fulton (R)	62.6		New District	ing	B Smith (D)			New Distri	
11 Celler (D)	73.8		01		23 Gavin (R)	67.8				5 Stanley (D) (7)				73.5
17 Coudert (R)	57.0				25 Graham (R)	50.4	52.4	52.6	58.8	9 Wampler (R)	51.7	58.4	52.4	34.6
7 Delaney (D)	51.0		-=		7 James (R)	617	627	613	66.5	WASHINGTON			-	24.0
23 Dollinger (D)	63.8		U		24 Kearns (R) f	57.1	57.0	54.5	63.9	4 Holmes (R)	675	643	53.2	67.6
18 Danovan (D)					21 Kelly (D) 1	52.9	57.1	62.2	52.9	5 Horan (R)	56.0	54.8	54.6	62.7
12 Dorn (R)	52 7		Districting		8 King (R)	59 3	58.2	59 2	58.9	3 Mack (R)	53 3	52 9	52 1	53.9
22 Fine (D)	58.0		S		13 McConnell (R) 5	66.4	66 2	66.9	74.4	AL Magnusan (D)	50.5		New Distri	CT
25 Fino (R)	50 1				26 Morgan (D)	59.1		New District	ting	I Pel(y (R)	51.4	51.4	50.8	63.8
8 Heller (D)	65.3				16 Mumma (R)	617	47.0			6 Tollefson (R)	59.8	60.5	55.1	53.9
6 Holtzman (D)	49.2				14 Rhodes (D) 1	49.7	49.8	50.3	57 1	2 Westland (R)	54.2	41.2	61.6	33.1
21 Javits (R)	63.4				aylor (R) 1	52.4	52.5	55.4	54.6	WEST VIRGINIA	24.6	****	*1.0	
10 Kelly (D)	71.2		>		Simpson (R)	63 5		New District	ing	3 Barley (D)	53.4	34.4	57.1	515
9 Keagh (D)	61.1		New		Y Stauffer (R)	52.3	***		15.0	6 Byrd (D)	35.4	61.6	42.5	52.9
19 Klein (D)	66.0		0)		20 Van Zandt (R) 1	62.8	59 5	60.4	65.9	5 Kee (D)	63.0	45.7	45.1	36.9
4 Latham (R)	62.6		7		15 Walker (D) 1	54.8	58.3	58.8	\$2.6	Mollohan (D)	52.9	51.7	57.0	53 1
13 Multer (D)	68.3		4		Philosophia					4 Neal (R)	53.3	51.4	53.1	52 6
16 Powell (D)	73.9				1 Barrett (D)	68.2	53.8	53.4	57 3	2 Staggers (D)	51.5	54.3	54.7	51.4
15 Ray (R)	57.9				3 Byrne (D)	58.4	50.3	52.0	62 1	WISCONSIN	01.0	24.2	24.7	21.4
4 Rooney (D)	64.2				4 Chudoff (D)	69.9	57.5	\$5.7	53.0		99.	19.6	56.6	64.7
20 Roosevelt (D)	60.2				2 Granahan (D)	61.8	57.0	54.3	514	8 Byrnes (R)	73.6	62.0	767 47	0.4
RTH CAROLINA					5 Green (D)	54.2	55.5	50.7	56.9	2 Davis (R)	62.9	57.6	53.9	63.4
9 Alexander (D)	\$1.5	61.1	59.6	54.9	6 Scott (R)	517	50.0	57.0	58.5	9 Hull (R) (8)	65.2	70.8		
3 Barden (D)	76.1		78.8	66.7	RHODE ISLAND					5 Kersten (R)	516	51.6	53.1	56 T
Bonner (D)		92.8	91.9	89.2	2 Fagarty (D)	53.4	60.6	59.7	52.6	7 Land (R)	72.3	68.3	62.5	72.0
7 Carlyle (D)	*	84.0	84.3	73.9	1 Forand (D)	54.9	63.2	61.9	57.1	10 O'Konski (R)	67.4	570	54 8	55.5
5 Chatham (D)		*	72.7	62.9	SOUTH CAROLINA					1 Smith (R)	59 4	57.2	51.9	66.9
4 Cooley (D)	75.3	72.8	78.1	65.7	4 Bryson (D) (6)		×	94.9	*	6 Van Pelt (R)	71 7	65.0	55.5	64.9
8 Deane (D)	59.9	59.6	62.7	54.2	3 Dorn (D)	93.9	K	97.8		3. Withrow (R)	75.1	58.8	69.2	×
6 Durham (D)	69.5	75.4	72.1	63.4	6 McMillan (D)	*		97.1	*	4 Zabłocki (D)	64.3	40.9	55.9	52.5
2 Fountain (D)	94.8		96.0	*	5 Richards (D)	93.9		97.1	*	WYOMING				
		523	59.6	53.8	2 Riley (D)			96.4		AL Harrison (R)	60 I	54.5	515	56:0

## Doubtful, Marginal -- Closest Districts

Here, by state, party in control in the district, and district, are the doubtful and marginal districts of 1952. Doubtful districts, listed first in each instance where the state had one or more, were those won by from 50 to 55 per cent of the total vote. Marginal districts are those won by 55 to 60 per cent. Numbers of the specific districts are in parentheses. (See page 1345.)

tricts	are in par	entheses.	(See page 1345.)
State	Election % Range	Total No. By Party	District Númber
Ariz.	50-55	R-1	(1)
	55-60	D-1	(2)
Ark.	55-60	D-1	(3)
Calif.	50-55	R-3	(9, 13, 21)
	50-55	D-4	(3, 6, 14, 17)
	55-60	R-5	(4, 10, 16, 18, 30)
Colo.	55-60 50-55	D-1 D-2	(27) (1, 4)
Colo.	55-60	R-1	(3)
Conn.	50-55	R-1	(3)
	50-55	D-1	(1)
	55-60	R-3	(2, 5, AL)
Del.	50-55	R-1	(AL)
Fia.	50-55	D-1	(1)
14-6-	55-60	D-1	(7)
Idaho	50-55 50-55	D-1 R-1	(1)
111.	50-55	D-3	(2, 9, 21)
	55-60	R-6	(4, 11, 12, 18, 23, 25)
	55-60	D-1	(8)
Ind.	50-55	R-2	(3, 8)
	55-60	R-7	(2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11)
	55-60	D-1	(1)
Iowa	55-60	R-1	(5)
Kan.	50-55	D-1	(1)
v	55-60	R-3	(2, 3, 4)
Ky.	50-55 50-55	R-1 D-1	(3)
	55-60	D-1	(2) (4, 5, 6, 7)
Md.	50-55	R-1	(5)
	50-55	D-2	(4, 7)
	55-60	R-1	(6)
Mass.	50-55	R-2	(8, 10)
	50-55	D-2	(2, 4)
	55-60	R-1	(9)
Mich.	50-55	R-2	(6, 17)
	50-55	D-1	(14)
	55-60	R-4	(9, 11, 12, 18)
Minn.	50-55 55-60	D-2 R-1	(3, 6) (5)
Mo.	50-55	R-2	(4, 6)
	50-55	D-3	(8, 9, 11)
	55-60	R-1	(2)
	55-60	D-1	(5)
Mont.	50-55	D-1	(1)
Neb.	55-60	R-1	(2)
Nev.	50-55	R-1	(AL)
N.J.	50-55	R-2	(1, 12) (4, 11, 14)
	50-55 55-60	D-3 D-2	(10, 13)
N.M.	50-55	D-2	(Two AL)
N.Y.	50-55	R-3	(5, 12, 25)
	50-55	D-4	(5, 12, 25) (6, 7, 24, 30)
	55-60	R-7	(15, 17, 27, 34, 40, 41, 42)
	55-60	D-1	(22)
N.C.	50-55	D-1	(9)
	55-60	R-1	(10)
Ohi-	55-60	D-2	(8, 12)
Ohio	50-55 50-55	R-2 D-1	(3, 16) (6)
	50-55	I-1	(9)
	55-60	R-5	(2, 11, 13, 14, 22)
	55-60	D-1	(18)

State		Total No. By Party	
Okla.	55-60	R-1	(1)
	55-60	D-2	(2, 4)
Ore.	50-55	R-1	(3)
	55-60	R-1	(2)
Pa.	50-55	R-6	(1, 10, 11, 19, 22, 25)
	50-55	D-4	(5, 14, 15, 21)
	55-60	R-2	(8, 24)
	55-60	D-3	(3, 26, 28)
R.I.	50-55	D-2	(1, 2)
Utah	50-55	R-1	(2)
Va.	50-55	R-3	(6, 9, 10)
	55-60	D-1	(3)
Wash.	50-55	R-3	(1, 2, 3)
	50-55	D-1	(AL)
	55-60	R-2	(5, 6)
W.Va.	50-55	R-1	(4)
	50-55	D-3	(1, 2, 3)
	55-60	D-1	(6)
Wis.	50-55	R-1	(5)
	55-60	R-1	(1)

## The Closest Districts

In 1952, 25 districts (in 16 states) each were won by a plurality of 5,000 votes or less. Ten were won by Republicans, 15 by Democrats. About half of these districts changed hands in 1952.

In six states there were nine extremely close districts: California, Pennsylvania and Virginia each had three; Colorado, Maryland and Ohio each had two. The closest district was the Fourth Colorado, won by the incumbent, Wayne N. Aspinall (D), by only 29 votes.

The 10 won by Republicans by less than 5,000 votes:

State	District No.	Plurality
Virginia	10	322
Pennsylvania	11	588
Nevada	At Large	771
Maryland	5	1.039
Pennsylvania	25	1,363
Virginia	6	2,044
Virginia	9	2,312
California	13	2,980
Massachusetts	8	3.804
Ohio	3	4,774

The 15 won by Democrats by less than 5,000 votes:

State	District No.	Plurality
Colorado	4	29
Ohio	6	324
Pennsylvania	14	408
New York	6	541
Idaho	1	591
Missouri	11	1,258
Montana	1	1,593
Florida	1	1,863
California	6	2,012
California	14	2,798
Maryland	7	3,375
West Virginia	2	3,852
Kansas	1	3,946
North Carolina	9	3,962
Colorado	1	4,422

## pressures on congress

## **Lobby Registrations**

Registrations under the lobby law recently processed by the House file clerk's office include the following:

SACRAMENTO-YOLO PORT DISTRICT, 312 Court House, Sacramento, Calif.

Timothy V.A. Dillon, Washington lawyer with offices at 1001 15th St., N.W., filed for the Port District Nov. 10. He expressed an interest in legislation supporting the Sacramento River deep water channel project authorized by Public Law 525, 79th Congress, second session.

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES FOUNDATION, LTD., 1011 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington.

Dr. Henry J. Klaunberg, executive director of the Foundation, registered Nov. 4. He said his activities will be in connection with measures affecting biologicals and related medical sciences, especially bills affecting publication and distribution of scientific literature.

Dr. Klaunberg told CQ his group was formed three months ago, as an international board to compile and publish medical bibliographical data. He said it will function under the direction of leading medical schools throughout the nation, and medical authorities in other parts of the world.

AMERICAN AIRLINES, 918 16th St., N.W., Washington.

Dwight D. Taylor, Jr., an official of the airline, filed Oct. 30. Main interest: Legislation dealing with civil aviation. He estimated his expenses as ranging from \$75 to \$100 monthly.

#### PRESSURE POINTS

### CIO CONVENTION

Speeches by members of the Eisenhower cabinet, discussions of possible unity between the nation's major unions and adoption of several major policy resolutions marked the 15th constitutional convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, held in Cleveland Nov. 16-20.

Highlights of the convention:

#### NOV. 16 --

In his opening message CIO president Walter P. Reuther charged that the Republicans had made the government a "subordinate ally of big business." He reported the CIO is today stronger and better-financed than ever before.

In a letter read to delegates, President Eisenhower said that in January he will submit to Congress his proposals to change the Taft-Hartley Labor Law to make it "absolutely fair" to workers, management and the public.

#### NOV. 17 --

A step toward unity between the two major union organizations was taken when CIO delegates unanimously followed the American Federation of Labor in ratifying a pact designed to prohibit inter-union raiding after Jan. 1.

A resolution was adopted condemning the actions of Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., for a "spiteful attack" on ex-President Truman in the Harry Dexter White case. (See pages 1361, 1365.) The resolution also condemned Chairman <u>Harold H.Velde</u> (R Ill.) of the House Un-American Activities Committee for having tried to subpena Truman to appear before his group.

#### NOV. 18 --

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles told delegates Russian rulers have refused to talk with the West about European problems because of fear for their control over peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell declared that President Eisenhower will support removal of features in the Taft-Hartley law which are "really dangerous to labor, really loaded, really unfair."

Delegates adopted a political action resolution, committing the organization to support "progressive forces in the two major parties. They went on record as criticizing the "almost complete de-emphasis of labor participation" in the foreign aid program, also resolved to endorse the Rural Electrification Administration program of helping farmers obtain power and telephone service.

#### NOV. 19 --

A nine-point "anti-depression" program, designed to act as counter-measure to forces threatening "a major change in direction" of the U.S. economy, was adopted. The program called for tax reductions for low income groups; a boost in the federal minimum wage from 75 cents to \$1.25 an hour; higher social security benefits; a "clear cut reversal of the banker-dominated money policies" of the Eisenhower Administration, steps to encourage home building; higher unemployment compensation benefits; higher wage payments to workers; a "counter-depression" federal works program.

#### GRANGE MEETING

In Burlington, Vt., the 87th annual convention of the National Grange ended Nov. 19 urged that the present rigid farm price support program be continued until larger markets can be developed. Then, the Grange said, the government should move away from high rigid supports to a flexible system under which supports would be high in time of shortage to encourage production and low in times of surpluses to discourage it. The Grange also recommended: Eased trade barriers through a two-price system, under which U. S. prices remained supported at high levels with exports to be sold at a lower world price; easing anti-trust laws to permit farmers, producers and others to push sales of farm surpluses.

#### In convention addresses:

Rep. Harold D. Cooley (D N.C.) Nov. 14 defended existing price support laws. Chairman George D. Aiken (R Vt.) of the Senate Agriculture Committee Nov. 12 promised that farmers will shape a program which "will result in a more prosperous agriculture and more independent farmers." President George Meany of the AFL Nov. 16 called farmers and union workers "each others best customers." Secretary of Agriculture Ezra T. Benson Nov. 19 said future farm programs must stress "helping the farmers to help themselves."

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## political notes

#### "COMMUNISM" AN ISSUE?

Communism will be "one of the big issues" in the 1954 Congressional election campaign, Chairman Leonard W. Hall of the Republican National Committee said on Nov. 15.

"We will see to it that all Communists and left wingers who came into government under former administrations are going to be put out," Hall stated. "Perhaps the red carpet wasn't out for left wingers, but at least some people left the door open for them to come in the government," he said.

Democratic National Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell wasn't much impressed with the Communist issue in general or the Harry Dexter White case in particular. (See pp. 1361, 1365; also Weekly Report, pp. 1333, 1339 ff.) "I don't think the people will eat warmed-over spy," Mitchell said, on Nov. 15.

#### PRESIDENT SAYS NO

President Eisenhower said at his news conference on Nov. 18 that he hoped his Administration will have cleaned all Communists out of government by 1954, so that this will be history, not a campaign issue, by that time.

Hall issued a statement later the same day. "I couldn't agree with the President more," he said. "We promised the people in 1952 that we would clean up the mess in Washington and certainly the most important part of that mess was Communist infiltration of our government." If this is not done by November, 1954, he stated, "we will have failed to keep our promise. The President's statement is, to me, indicative of the Administration's determination to keep our pledge."

### YOUNG DEMOCRATS MEET

The National Convention of Young Democratic Clubs of America, meeting at St. Paul, Minn., Nov. 12-14, featured attacks on the Eisenhower Administration and a credentials scrap which prevented two rival Texas delegations from being seated.

Adlai E. Stevenson, the 1952 Democratic Presidential nominee, Nov. 12 predicted that the Republicans would lose the 1954 Congressional elections because the people are fed up with their "slick talk and foolish promises." Among the promises which they have been unable to full-fill are a balanced budget, help for farmers and support for public power programs, Stevenson said.

Sen. <u>Hubert H. Humphrey</u> (D Minn.), who made the keynote address on Nov. 12, said the Administration was attempting to solve the nation's greatest problems by the use of a "super study hall," a reference to the number of commissions created by the President.

Sen. Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.) criticized the Administration on Nov. 12 for what he termed its attempt to strangle the Tennessee Valley Authority by budget cuts. He called the President "a poor quarterback for the new Republican team. He can't make up his mind what play to call."

W. Averell Harriman told the group Nov. 14 that the "do-nothing Republican Administration" had "thrown the farmers to the wolves of the market place. Their slogan has been 'hard money,' but in reality its hard-to-get money. They want a little healthy unemployment, enough to let business boss labor again."

## State Roundup

CALIFORNIA: Arthur H. Samish, who once boasted that he was "the secret boss of California," and a power in its state legislature, Nov. 18 in San Francisco was convicted of income tax evasion.

ILLINOIS: Joseph T. Meek, secretary of the Illinois Federation of Retail Associations, announced Nov. 15 that he will seek the GOP nomination for Senator in 1954. He is the first Republican to announce for the seat now held by Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D).

KANSAS -- C. Wesley Roberts, former Chairman of the Republican National Committee, on Nov. 14 received a silver tray from the Committee bearing the signatures of the President, Vice President Nixon, the late Sen. Robert A. Taft (R Ohio) and many others. The presentation was made in Topeka, Kan., at a meeting of Kansas Republicans. Roberts resigned on March 27 after a joint investigating committee of the Kansas legislature reported that he had "deliberately and intentionally" violated "the spirit" of the Kansas lobbying law. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 425.)

MISSISSIPPI: The Supreme Court on Nov. 16 ruled that perjury indictments should be reinstated against five pro-Truman Democrats accused of lying to Senators investigating the alleged sale of federal jobs in Mississippi in 1951.

NEW YORK: Acting Lt. Gov. Arthur H. Wicks (R) resigned on Nov. 18 as majority leader and temporary president of the State Senate, effective Nov. 19. The resignation removed him from the line of succession as governor. He had been under fire from Gov. Thomas E. Dewey (R) because of Wicks' visits to Sing Sing prison to see Joseph S. Fay, convicted labor extortionist. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1227.)

A 13-year member of the Republican National Committee, J. Russell Sprague of Nassau County, resigned Nov. 13. In a letter to Rep. Dean P. Taylor (R N.Y.), chairman of the State Republican Committee, Sprague said, "It would be foolish and unrealistic for me to ignore that there has been criticism of me because of my ownership of (Yonkers) raceway stock." Dewey asked Sprague to reconsider. Harness racing is now under investigation in the state, where a commission is looking into possible business and political ties between the track owners and state politicians. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1227, 1287.)

VIRGINIA: Powell Glass, Jr., grandson of the late Sen. Carter Glass (D Va.), announced Nov. 14 that he will be a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress from the Sixth District in 1954. Arlington Attorney John Locke Green said Nov. 12 that he probably will be a candidate for the Democratic nomination to Congress from the Tenth District. He is an ex-Republican.

WYOMING: The Wyoming Federation of Republican Women's Clubs is putting out an eight-page monthly newspaper called "Petticoat Politics" to counteract what it regards as the "one-party" press in the state.

Tracy S. McCraken, Democratic National Committeeman, publishes seven of the 10 dailies in the state.

## BERGSON INDICTED

Herbert A. Bergson, former Assistant Attorney General in the Truman Administration, was indicted by a federal grand jury in Washington Nov. 16 on charges of violating a conflict of interest statute.

The first of the laws involved was enacted in 1919. The interest statutes were codified in 1948 and amended in 1949. The charge against Bergson was based on Title 18, Section 284, U.S. Code, 1946 edition. The prosecution is the first under Section 284.

Bergson pleaded innocent and accused Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., of political persecution. The law states that no federal employee within two years after leaving government service may represent clients having claims against the government if he handled those cases while working for the government.

Bergson served in the Department of Justice from June 16, 1948, until Sept. 29, 1950. He was in charge of the anti-trust division when he resigned.

In January, 1949, he filed an anti-trust suit against a group of abrasive manufacturers. In November, 1950, the first count of the indictment charged, Bergson represented two of these companies as a private attorney and obtained a clearance letter from Justice permitting the two companies to merge without becoming liable under the anti-trust laws.

The second count charged that Bergson refused, while head of the anti-trust division, to give an anti-trust clearance letter to the U. S. Pipe Line Company, but in 1951, after he left Justice, attempted to obtain such a letter for the company as a private attorney.

### STEPHENSON INDICTED

Warren L. Stephenson, former member of the District of Columbia Republican Committee and several other Republican organizations, was indicted Nov. 11 on perjury charges by a federal grand jury in Washington. He pleaded innocent Nov. 18.

He was accused of falsely denying that he sought to become Washington representative for Century Industries, Inc., of Burbank, Calif., a munitions manufacturer, in testimony before the House Armed Services Defense Activities Subcommittee on June 26. At the time he appeared before the group, Rep. Porter Hardy (D Va.) told him: "You are one of the biggest liars I ever listened to."

Stephenson did tell the Subcommittee that he offered to try to obtain military contracts for a four-per-cent fee or a \$2,000 a month salary.

He was stripped of his connections with Republican groups on Sept. 18, nine months after he served as executive secretary of the Washington Inaugural Committee. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1191.)

#### SYNTHETIC RUBBER SALE

Rep. Paul W. Shafer (R Mich.) said Nov. 19 that the government would begin advertising Nov. 20 for the auction sale of its 28 synthetic rubber facilities. Stating that he had been authorized to make the announcement by the Synthetic Rubber Facilities Disposal Commission, Shafer gave Nov. 25, 1953, through May 27, 1954, as dates for prospective buyers to make their bids. An interest rate of four per cent has been set by the Commission as the mortgage money rate for purchase of the plants, Shafer said. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1222.)

#### **BUDGET COMMENTS**

Two key democrats -- Sen. John L. Mc, lellan (Ark.), of the Appropriations Committee and Rep. John W. McCormack (Mass.), minority whip -- Nov. 19 said President Eisenhower's prediction of an unbalanced budget next year was an admission that the Administration is backing away from campaign promises. (See Eisenhower Meets Press, p. 1358.)

However, a Republican, House Ways and Means Committee Member Carl T. Curtis (Neb.), said he wasn't giving up hope of a balanced budget, yet.

## UPHOLDS STANDARDS BUREAU

A national committee of scientists Nov. 13 announced its judgement that the controversial battery additive, AD-X2, was without merit for pepping up batteries. The Committee found that the tests on the additive made by the National Bureau of Standards were "excellent." (CQ Weekly Report, p. 882.)

#### "SECRECY" CRITICIZED

Sigma Delta Chi, national Journalistic fraternity, Nov. 14 branded as a threat to the American way of life, secrecy in federal government which can not be justified as in the public interest. The stand was taken at the group's annual convention in St. Louis.

#### NIXON ON JAPAN REARMAMENT

Vice President Richard M. Nixon Nov. 19 in Tokyo called Japan "a key bastion for the defense of Asia", urged Japanese re-armament, and said that "the United States made a mistake in 1946" when it ordered the demilitarization of Japan. Commenting, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Alexander Wiley (R Wis.) agreed that "we Americans unfortunately did misjudge the world situation when we previously urged the Japanese to renounce armaments."

#### MONSANTO QUITS NAM

The Monsanto Chemical Co. said Nov. 13 that it has withdrawn from the National Association of Manufacturers because of what it called an NAM trend in favor of tariff reduction.

Officials said the date of the withdrawal was Oct. 19. Ten days later, the NAM board of directors adopted resolutions that the Association "does not presume to speak in any way for its members as to tariff matters," and that "no existing positions or policies of the Association on international economic matters shall be construed to be a position on tariffs."

## **Executive Briefs**

## The President

#### TAFT-HARTLEY

President Eisenhower said Nov. 16 in a message to the 15th annual convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations that he will ask Congress next January to amend the Taft-Hartley Act so as to make it "absolutely fair to the laboring men and women of this nation, to management, and to the public at large."

#### CANADIAN SPEECH

Addressing a joint session of the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa Nov. 14, President Eisenhower said that trade barriers erected "to protect a country's economy often in fact shackle its prosperity," that he hopes the United States Senate will authorize U.S. participation in the St. Lawrence Seaway Project and that the United States and Canada will devise means to protect the two countries from surprise enemy attack.

#### MUNITIONS LIST

A new munitions list to guide Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in controlling arms exports bars shipments to Communist areas of all bacteriological and chemical warfare materials. Proclaimed by President Eisenhower, the list has some 50,000 items whose shipment to Communist regions is prohibited for foreign policy and military security reasons.

#### NOMINATIONS

President Eisenhower has nominated:

Eugene J. Lyons, Nov. 17, to be Assistant Postmaster General in charge of personnel

Elmer J. Schnackenberg, Nov. 17, to be judge of the U.S. Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals

Robert D. Armstrong, Nov. 17, to be a member of the National Agricultural Advisory Commission.

Maj. Gen. Hugh M. Milton, II, of New Mexico, Nov. 18 to be Assistant Secretary of the Army (in charge of manpower and reserve forces)

John H. Davis, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Nov. 18, to be U.S. member of the Council of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

#### EX-REPRESENTATIVE NAMED

Former Rep. Dudley A. White (R Ohio) Nov. 13 was named executive director of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The appointment was announced by Chairman Clarence Manion.

## Departments, Agencies

#### SMALL BUSINESS

Wendell Barnes, Acting Administrator of the Small Business Administration, reported at a news conference Nov. 16 that the SBA will liberalize its loan policy to give any small company equal opportunity with defense producers to obtain a government loan. The revised policy, Barnes said, eliminates a clause which gave preference to loans fostering 'military, defense or essential civilian requirements." (For SBA background, see CQ Weekly Report, p. 1334.)

#### Eisenhower Meets Press

President Eisenhower Nov. 18 told reporters:

He hoped his Administration's clean-up in Washington would eliminate the issue of Communists in government from next year's political campaign

He had ordered that feed supplies were to be furnished to farmers in drought areas for the time being without reimbursement to the Commodity Credit Corporation

The December Bermuda Conference with England's Prime Minister Churchill and France's Premier Laniel will include discussions on common problems of European and Asiatic defenses against Communist aggression, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Korea and Indo-China

He does not believe the federal budget can be balanced in the fiscal year beginning July 1 and the Administration won't know until December whether it will have to ask Congress to increase the national debt ceiling

The government is keeping a close watch on economic conditions and is prepared to take prompt action if required to see that no widespread unemployment develops

He will meet with Republican Congressional leaders Dec. 17-19 to discuss the Administration's legislative program for the coming session of Congress

He did not like the word "McCarthyism" and was not sure what the term implied.

#### FOREIGN TRADE

Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, Nov. 16 told the National Foreign Trade Council Convention in New York that the United States should "think of the establishment of a new policy in international trade matters—a policy which I shall label 'fair competition'—hard, tough, fighting competition but fair competition." Weeks said he was "willing for American industry to face the competition of any industry anywhere with respect to all save the labor factor."

#### UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Secratary of Labor James P. Mitchell announced Nov. 14 that his Department's Bureau of Employment Security was launching a pilot study in several labor market areas to determine whether workers get enough from the present scale of unemployment compensation benefits to tide them over jobless periods.

#### SOCIAL SERVICES REAPPRAISAL

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, said Nov. 13 that the Administration is re-examining the federal grants-in-aid program and other programs to discover the "how" and not the "what" of the situation. She said the programs will not be scrapped and that "the federal government will not stand idly by and permit a vacuum to occur in the field of services to the people."

#### CALIFORNIA WATER

Frank B. Durkee, chairman of the California Water Project Authority, said Nov. 19 that the Interior Department's Reclamation Bureau was now prepared to give California an idea of how much money would be needed for the state to buy the Central Valley Reclamation Project. Preliminary discussions of the proposed purchase concluded Nov. 19.

## Commissions

#### FOREIGN TRADE

President Eisenhower's Commission on Foreign Economic Policy concluded its hearings Nov. 19 and planned to develop a foundation the President could use in discussing foreign economic policy in his January State of the Union message to Congress. Final recommendations on trade and tariff policies are not due until March, 1954. (CQ Weekly Report, pp. 1101, 1196.)

The United Mine Workers Nov. 13 told the Commission, in a statement, it should get a new chairman to replace Clarence B. Randall, Inland Steel Corporation executive. The UMW said the Commission's hearing schedule denied UMW a chance to appear.

### FARM BRIEFS

#### DROUGHT RELIEF

President Eisenhower Nov. 18 ordered the Commodity Credit Corporation to continue supplying cut-rate feed to drought areas although funds for reimbursing CCC are nearly exhausted. CCC will not be paid, the President said, pending review of the situation by Congress. Money already due CCC will be released for defraying transportation costs.

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson had recommended continuation of drought relief after a Nov. 12-16 tour of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and Missouri. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1332.) He found that recent rains had improved conditions in certain sections, indicating they might lose their "disaster" status in favor of other areas. Benson said he had "never seen winter ranges worse than they are now."

Nov. 18, Benson asked Western railroads to continue their 50 per cent cut in transportation rates for emergency feed. If the railroads refuse, he said, the government will continue to supply feed at cut rates by absorbing the full freight rates. Railroads in other sections extended their rate reductions on hay shipments.

#### CROSS-COMPLIANCE RESCINDED

The Agriculture Department Nov. 13 announced rescission of a regulation which would have required farmers to comply with acreage allotments on all basic commodities in order to be eligible for price supports on any. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1292.)

## AGRICULTURE REORGANIZATION

Secretary Benson Nov. 18 defended his reorganization of the Agriculture Department, telling a conference of soil conservation officials that strengthened state conservation offices will help "carry out a dynamic and more effective national program of soil and water conservation." (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1316.)

## '54 Legislative Program

A legislative program the Administration wants to see Congress act on in 1954 was outlined Nov. 18 by President Eisenhower. The program was to be discussed with GOP Congressional leaders in a conference set for Dec. 17-19.

The President listed these as principle items to be studied at the conference:

Security (defense); fiscal policy (expenditures, taxation and the budget situation); new farm program; labor law changes; public housing and slum clearance; social security expansion; foreign aid (particularly military phase).

### MEAT PRICE SPREAD

In a preliminary report, the Agriculture Department Nov. 16 said lower prices paid producers for lower-grade cattle are being reflected in lower retail prices for cheaper cuts of beef. Oct. 10, Secretary Benson said middlemen had not appreciably increased their margins on higher-grade beef. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1249.) The Department reported an unusually wide gap between high and low grade cattle and beef prices.

#### BEEF PURCHASES

Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney (D Okla.) Nov. 16 asked President Eisenhower to expand government purchases of beef to improve cattle prices. (CQ Weekly Report, pp. 1246, 1291.) He said the government should require processors from which it buys to pay cattle producers at least 12 cents a pound. Currently, he said, processors are paying five to seven cents and receiving 36 to 38 cents.

#### AIKEN ON FARM MARKETS

Chairman George D. Aiken (R Vt.) of the Senate Agriculture Committee Nov. 17 called expansion of world markets the best solution to farm price declines and excessive commodity surpluses.

#### FARM POLITICS

Sen. Francis Case (R S.D.) Nov. 13 said the farm issue will decide the 1954 Congressional elections, and predicted the Administration will offer Congress a program which will assure continued GOP control. Sen. John L. McClellan (D Ark.) foresaw a Democratic 84th Congress "unless the Republicans can reverse the farm trends in the next year..." Rep. Thomas G. Abernethy (D Miss.) said farmers will be satisfied only with vigorous administration of the present farm program after its extension, "Mr. Benson's opposition to the contrary notwithstanding."

#### SUGAR CONTROLS

Domestic sugar producers Nov. 16 urged the Agriculture Department to continue tight sugar marketing controls in 1954, while industrial users of sugar asked the Department to allow expanded marketing. The latter called low quotas, intended to maintain or stimulate prices, "disastrous."

## Congressional Briefs

### CHINA UN ADMISSION

President Pro Tempore of the Senate Styles Bridges (R N.H.) Nov. 13 took issue with a statement of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on possible recognition of Communist China. Bridges, saying Dulles indicated the Eisenhower Administration would not necessarily "oppose forever" recognition of Red China, declared legislation that Congress passed this year stated that the present Chinese government should not be admitted to the UN.

#### TENSION EASING

Critics of UN delegates' cocktail parties, suppers and informal gatherings fail to credit these get-togethers with their actual value in easing diplomatic tensions, Rep. Frances P. Bolton (R Ohio), member of the U. S. delegation, said Nov. 16.

## ESPIONAGE OFFICE

Sen. Homer Ferguson (R Mich.) Nov. 16 announced he had told Secretary of State John Foster Dulles the Polish consulate in Detroit functioned mainly as "an espionage office" and should be closed.

#### HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION

Chairman Francis Case (R S.D.) of the Public Works Subcommittee which handles federal aid to highways, Nov. 14 said he was opposed to elimination of the federal government from financing national highway construction and turning road building back to the states.

#### AID END NEAR?

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R III.); a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, said Nov. 12 in Chicago that after the present fiscal year, which ends next June 30, he had an idea "economic aid will be just about cut off, leaving only military aid" abroad.

#### ISRAEL - ARAB SEMINAR

Chairman Alexander Wiley (R Wis.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Sen. Guy M. Gillette (D Iowa), member of the Committee, shared the platform at a seminar in Chicago Nov. 15 on the subject of Israel-Arab relations. Wiley said the U. S. will not "offend" or "irritate" when "we can possibly avoid it." Gillette said the U. S. policy on peace in that region lacked "clarity."

#### AVIATION AWARD

Rep. Carl Hinshaw (R Calif.) Nov. 16 was named by the National Aeronautics Association to receive the 1953 Wright Brothers Memorial Trophy for public service to aviation by making known the industry's problems.

#### CIVIL SERVICE

Sen. Frank Carlson (R Kan.), Chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, said Nov. 19 that he had received many complaints from Republican Senators that the Civil Service Commission is failing to open up policy-making jobs to Republicans. He said his Committee had been asked by some Republicans to make an investigation because these Republicans believed that "government policy has not always been in the direction intended by the President."

#### CIVIL SERVICE LOYALTY

Rep. Edward H. Rees (R Kan.), Chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, denounced public servants who "hide improperly behind the Constitution" and refuse to testify on questions involving national security or individual loyalty.

#### CONTINENTAL DEFENSE

Rep. John W. McCormack (D Mass.) said Nov. 19 that at the next session Democrats will fight for a \$2 billion increase in air defense funds to provide "adequate protection for American Cities and American people." Such a program, he said, could provide radar, interceptor planes and other devices to knock out all but 10 per cent of enemy bombers in any sudden attack. He contrasted this with America's "disgraceful" defense situation where "70 per cent of the attacking planes can get through." Reps. Arthur Winstead (D Miss.) and O. C. Fisher (D Tex.), both of the House Armed Services Committee, agreed on the need for a strengthened air defense.

#### CONGRESSIONAL QUOTES

Expressing his views on the House Un-American Activities Committee's decision to call former President Truman to testify on the Harry Dexter White controversy Rep. Gerald R. Ford, Jr. (R Mich.) said Nov. 19: Although I feel that under the Constitution a former President can be subpensed, it would have been wiser and more prudent for the Committee to have invited Mr. Truman to voluntarily give his version of the affair. If he had rejected the invitation, then it would have been in order to issue the subpena."

Sen. <u>Hubert H. Humphrey</u> (D Minn.), scoring the Eisenhower Administration in a Nov. 13 release: "The Administration has sought to cope with the problems the country faces by turning government into a sort of super study hall. It has been referred to as government by commission. It ought to be called government by omission."

Rep. <u>Earl Wilson</u> (R Ind.) told constituents in his Nov. 16 newsletter: "As I have noted the manner in which (President Eisenhower) has met and is dealing with" the nation's problems "I become more and more convinced that he will go down in history as one of our nation's greatest leaders. The mess he inherited from the 20-year era of misrule by the New and Fair Dealers certainly is one that cannot be cleaned up overnight."

Criticizing present excise tax laws, Rep. Harlan Hagen (D Calif.) said in his Nov. 12 newsletter, "By way of illustrating the inequities of the existing excise tax law, those favoring a complete revamping are presenting some interesting examples. For instance, the owner of an automobile must pay the 20 per cent luxury tax but one who can afford to buy a cabin cruiser for ocean jaunts pays no tax on it."



## weekly committee roundup

## Assignment

LABOR INVESTIGATION -- A spokesman for the House Education and Labor Committee said Nov. 18 that Committee Chairman Samuel K. McConnell, Jr. (R Pa.) had appointed Rep. Wint Smith (R Kan.) Nov. 14 to head a special subcommittee to complete an inquiry on alleged labor racketeering in Detroit, Mich. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1024.) The spokesman said

the Subcommittee will hold hearings in Detroit Nov. 23-25. Clare E. Hoffman (R Mich.) and Phil M. Landrum (D Ga.) are the other Subcommittee Members.

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New Hearings

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY -- Lead-off witness before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency was Dr. Martha M. Eliot, head of the U. S. Children's Bureau, who said Nov. 19 that teen-age lawlessness is spreading fast and facilities to halt the increase are "grossly inadequate."

She told investigating Senators that at the current rate of increase the number of juveniles in serious trouble will have nearly doubled by 1960. Today's number was estimated at 385,000. Dr. Eliot blamed federal, state and local government for failing to provide enough funds to do an adequate job of curtailing delinquency.

What is needed, she said, is co-operation among the family, the community and government agencies, and new methods of treatment and facilities.

Thomas Gill, presiding judge of Connecticut Juvenile Court system, was asked what parents should tell children who felt they had to get into trouble or be called "chicken" by other youngsters. He advised that parents get together and set patterns of neighborhood conduct instead of letting the children do so.

In a statement, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health Education and Welfare, estimated that 53 per cent of the auto thefts and 48 per cent of the burglaries committed this year will be by persons under 18. She called for more money for community services to juvenile delinquency.

Dr. George Gardner, clinical professor of psychology at Harvard Medical School, told the Subcommittee it is ridiculous to let a child do anything he wants for fear of frustrating him. He proposed establishment of a federal institute of juvenile delinquency to encourage training of child psychologists, promote research and advise states on their own programs.

Earnest Mitler, assistant district attorney in New York City, said federal legislation is needed to block a flourishing traffic in the selling of babies.

Greensboro, N.C., Police Chief Jeter Williamson urged adoption of a modern, uniform statute on juvenile court systems in the various states. He said offenses by juveniles have increased sharply in recent years while overall crime has dropped.

ALIEN PROPERTY -- The question of whether the late
Harry Dexter White, accused of
being a "Russian spy", exerted any influence in the Office
of the Alien Property Custodian was explored Nov. 16 as
the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Trading with the
Enemy Act opened a two-day hearing. (CQ Weekly Report,
pp. 1335.) The Custodian administers properties seized
from citizens of enemy nations during wartime.

Subcommittee counsel placed in the record a sheaf of documents which, assertedly showed that White, Harold Glasser, and V. Frank Coe, former Treasury Department officials, helped to decide alien property seizure policies. White, Glasser and Coe have been named by Elizabeth Bentley, ex-Communist courier, as members of an espionage group. The counsel told the Subcommittee that documentary evidence shows that "discussions in the Treasury" in 1945, favoring a confiscation of alien properties "emanated from White's office."

James E. Markham, who headed the Property Office from March 22, 1944, until Oct. 15, 1946, testified that enemy nationals' property was seized during World War I with the idea of a return to the owners after the peace. He asserted the World War II plan was "wholly different concept" of seizure, with the idea of retaining the properties and revenues derived from them.

Donald C. Cook, Custodian in 1947, assailed present methods of property administration, which the Subcommittee counsel said was a throwback to the efforts of the White group. Cook and Chairman Everett M. Dirksen (R Ill.) agreed that it will be later than the year 2,000 before the last of the properties is liquidated under existing laws.

Cook testified that the present (property) policy appears to confiscate German's assets, "while other branches of our government (are) rebuilding Germany."

Nov. 17, a former government tax lawyer asserted he believed the tough alien property seizure law was written by White in a "nefarious scheme" to deliver Germany and Japan to communism. The attorney, Charles T. Tittman, now represents three German clients who seek to recover properties seized under the law.

## Continued Hearings

WHITE REPORT -- The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Nov. 17 continued its "interlocking subversion" hearings, with emphasis on the Harry Dexter White case. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1333.)

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. said former President Truman showed an "unwillingness" to face 'acts about Communist espionage in high government positions. (See Truman speech, p. 1365.) Brownell made public a top secret letter to Truman by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, dated Feb. 1, 1946, and delivered Feb. 4, two days before White's nomination to an International Monetary Fund Directorship was confirmed by the Senate. The letter said that secret documents available to White were "allegedly made available" to persons who through various channels sent the substance or photographs of the documents to Russia.

"It seems extraordinary," said Brownell, "to learn that Truman was aware in 1946 of a Communist spy ring operating within his own Administration, when for so many years since that time he has been telling the American people exactly the opposite."

Brownell asserted that "infinite and detailed care" would have been required if the Truman decision to use White as "bait" for other spies, were to succeed. "The record fails to show," he added, "that anything was done which interfered with the continued functioning of the espionage ring of which White was a part."

The witness said a 1947 New York grand jury did not indict White because it did not have evidence the FBI had gotten through wire tapping. Such evidence cannot be used in federal courts. Also, he said, "conclusive evidence" was not available to the grand jury until after White's death in 1948.

On the FBI report dated Feb. 1, Brownell asserted it would be "difficult to believe" that "so important a document" would not have been brought to Truman's attention. The letter, Brownell disclosed, mentioned 12 persons, including White, as transmitting "information to espionage agents of the Soviet government." Brownell accepted "full responsibility" for evaluation of the report.

Named in the report (and their connections then) were "Dr. Gregory Silvermaster, Department of Agriculture, George Silverman, formerly with the Railroad Retirement Board now reportedly in the War Department, Victor Perlo, formerly with the War Production Board and the Foreign Economic Administration, Donald Wheeler, formerly with the Office of Strategic Services, Julius Joseph, Office of Strategic Services, Helen Tenney, Office of Strategic Services, Maurice Halperin, Office of Strategic Services, Charles Kramer, formerly with Sen. Harley M. Kilgore (D W.Va.), Captain William Ludwig Ullman, U.S. Army Air Corps," White, and Laughlin Currie, an Administrative assistant to the late President Roosevelt.

Wheeler, who now lives on a dairy farm in Sequin, Wash., was quoted by the Portland Oregonian as saying the allegation was "entirely false and malicious." Halperin was suspended from the staff of Boston University Nov. 18.

Brownell recommended two new laws. One would permit the use of wiretapped evidence in federal courts, the other would let the government grant immunity to certain witnesses in return for testimony on alleged conspiracies.

#### HOOVER TESTIFIES

Hoover testified that on Feb. 21, 1946 he told Tom C. Clark, then-Attorney General, it would be "unwise" to let White remain in government. He added that he never agreed to White's transfer to the Fund, and that the transfer "hampered" FBI surveillance of White.

All-told, Hoover told the Subcommittee, seven FBI communications went to the White House from Nov. 8, 1945, to July 24, 1946, bearing on "espionage activities wherein Harry Dexter White's name was specifically mentioned."

Hoover said that subsequent to White's death on Aug. 16, 1948, "facts of an uncontradictable nature which clearly established the reliability of the information furnished on White in 1945 and 1946" were produced.

Hoover said that Clark, on Feb. 21, 1946, told him he had spoken with the late Fred M. Vinson, then-Secretary of the Treasury, and Truman about White. The FBI chief said he, Vinson and Clark met and discussed ways to prevent White from taking the oath of office.

Out of the conference came three alternatives:

For Truman to dismiss White and make no statement For Truman to tell White he did not want White to serve

To permit White to assume the Fund job, under FBI surveillance, and instruct Vinson to allow White to appoint no assistants except with Vinson's approval.

He said there was no agreement between Clark and Vinson, while he was present, "other than that they should see the President with the Secretary of State" and suggest the "three alternatives."

Hoover said Clark told him on Feb. 26, 1946, that an effort would be made to remove White, but that Clark expressed doubt that would work. He said Clark told him the "President was interested in continuing the surveillance," and "I said we would."

Hoover said the FBI "does not make policy" and "does not evaluate," but it does have a "duty to evaluate its sources of information."

The FBI Director added that V. Frank Coe, a close associate of White, became Secretary of the Fund in June, 1946, and remained there until Dec. 3, 1952, "when he was dismissed after invoking the Fifth Amendment in an appearance before this Subcommittee." (CQ Almanac, Vol. VIII, 1952, p. 257.)

#### NOV. 18 --

Subcommittee counsel introduced evidence that former Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder promoted Harold Glasser in 1946 after FBI reports had linked Glasser and White in alleged Soviet espionage.

An Aug. 22, 1946, letter to Glasser from Snyder announced Glasser's appointment as Director of the Treasury's monetary research division. Chairman William E. Jenner (R Ind.) said Glasser's appointment came after two summaries of FBI reports on espionage mentioning Glasser had been sent to the Treasury. Glasser refused to answer certain Subcommittee questions last April 14. (CQ Weekly Report, pp. 497, 498.)

Snyder wired he could not attend the hearing, and asked Jenner to "point out that the record clearly shows that within 18 months after I became head of the Treasury Department and its 116,000 employees, to the best of my knowledge, all suspected subversives were separated from the Department, and none have been found since I left."

Jenner said the case of Solomon Adler, former Treasury employee accused of membership in the Soviet ring, "indicated again the statement of Snyder is in conflict with the record." Adler, Subcommittee counsel said, was Treasury financial adviser in China until May, 1950, when he resigned, four years after Snyder headed Treasury. But, Subcommittee counsel added, Adler received several loyalty clearances while he held his Treasury job.

The information on Adler was taken from the files of a loyalty investigation. Newsmen asked if this meant that the Subcommittee had access to previously-secret loyalty files. White House press secretary James C. Hagerty and Treasury officials denied releasing files. Robert Morris, Subcommittee counsel, declared: "I just happened to have something -- that's all." Commented Jenner: "We're not to talk about it."

UN-AMERICAN -- Chairman Harold H. Velde (R III.), of the House Un-American Activities Committee, Nov. 13 announced the Committee would avoid calling witnesses in the Harry Dexter White probe (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1339) while the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's investigation is in progress. (See page 1360.)

Velde said it was the Committee's "consensus" to propose written questions to Supreme Court Justice Tom-C. Clark after it hears Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.

Former Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R N.J.), Chairman of the group in the 80th Congress, wrote Velde asking a complete airing of the White case. Thomas, who served a prison term for payroll irregularities while in office, wrote: "...The chips to fall where they may, and if any heads are to fall, the bigger the better."

Jerome Blumauer, foreman of the 1947 New York grand jury that failed to indict White, Nov. 12, wired he could not comply with a Committee subpena, without being in contempt of court for divulging grand jury proceedings. Committee member Kit Clardy (R Mich.) said Nov. 17 that the Truman Administration "quashed" an indictment against White by the 1947 New York grand jury.

REDS IN SCHOOLS -- A three-man subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee Nov. 16 began a probe of alleged Communist activity in Philadelphia, with particular attention to the schools. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1274.) Reps. Harold H. Velde (R III.) is Chairman of the group. Other members: Kit Clardy (R Mich.) and Francis E. Walter (D Pa.).

Dr. Bella V. Dodd, admitted ex-Communist active in teacher union groups for many years, said the Philadelphia Teachers Union was "a Communist-led organization." Dr. Dodd stated that the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union of America (Ind.) is the "leading Communist union in America, whose leadership ... was trained in Moscow."

Dr. Dodd and Velde urged Congress to pass a law that would deny government contracts to any firm that bargains with a Communist-dominated union. She estimated there were never more than 1,500 Communist teachers nation-wide, but that these "were usually strategically placed."

NOV. 17 --

Mrs. Dorothy Kelso Funn, former teacher and Communist Party member for seven years, told the Subcommittee that the Party ran secret schools for Communist teachers at farms or camps in outlying areas. Mrs. Funn, who was a Communist until 1947, had testified in New York May 4, 1953. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 616.)

Mrs. Funn said that Party officials urged teachers to "take advantage of their position, without exposing themselves, to give their students a...working class education." NOV. 18--

Dr. Robert J. Rutman, biological chemistry professor at Jefferson Medical College, would not tell the Committee whether he had ever been a Communist. He said he was not a member of the Party when he worked on the atomic bomb project in 1945 as an Army Captain, or a year later when he worked at the Atomic Radiation Laboratory in Berkeley, Calif., as a civilian.

Veide said that 21 witnesses had testified in the three days, including two who admitted former Communist Party affiliation. The other 19 invoked protection of the First, Fifth, Ninth and Tenth amendments.

Clardy said Nov. 14 that a "number of persons connected with the University of Michigan" have been subpensed to testify before a subcommittee hearing in Detroit early in January, 1954. The Detroit hearings were slated for Nov. 30, but were postponed.

REDS IN INDUSTRY -- Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's (R
Wis.) Permanent Investigations
Subcommittee Nov. 13 continued an Albany, N.Y. closeddoor probe of alleged "Communist infiltration and espionage" at the General Electric Company's Schenectady
plant. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1334.)

McCarthy said there was a "concentration of Communists" at the plant as he called 10 witnesses, all unidentified. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1334.)

Nov, 16, McCarthy asserted a former GE security officer testified that a "considerable number of documents, highly classified and dealing with a torpedo project, are missing from the plant." He didn't identify the witness. The Chairman disclosed Nov. 17 that a former GE security officer testified that security at the Schenectady plant was almost non-existent for years but is "somewhat improved now." GE officials issued a statement saying their "security system at Schenectady is as good or better than the system of any comparable industrial plant in the country."

Nov. 18, McCarthy opened a closed hearing in Boston to probe possible subversion in GE plants in nearby Lynn and Everett.

William H. Teto, of Ashby, Mass., testified Nov. 19 he was an FBI undercover agent while a member of the Communist Party, since 1941. Teto, a 53-year-old upholsterer, said he worked in the Fitchburg, Mass., plant of GE, and that there were Communist cells there, and in GE plants in Lynn, Everett and Schenectady.

At the hearing, which was televised, Teto pointed to a man in the room as a cell member in the Lynn plant. The man was identified as Nat Mills. McCarthy said Mills refused to answer certain questions in closed hearing Nov. 18.

Four other GE workers, called to testify, refused to say whether they had been Communists. They were identified as Robert Goodwin, of Lynn, Henry Archdeacon of Boston, Donald Morrill of Lynn, and Witulad Piekarski, Lynn.

RADAR ESPIONAGE -- Secretary of the Army Robert T.
Stevens Nov. 13 asserted there
were no suspected spies among some 33 workers suspended on loyalty charges from the Army Signal Corps
radar laboratory at Fort Monmouth, N.J. Chairman

Joseph R. McCarthy (R Wis.) of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee has charged there was evidence of a spy ring there. (CQ Weekly Report, pp. 1318, 1334.)

Stevens stressed the fact that the Army has been making its own investigation but found no evidence of "current espionage." He said all of the suspensions were based on alleged acts or information dating back to the 1936-1947 period.

McCarthy, who has charged "a matter of current espionage" might "envelop the whole Signal Corps" said he would let "the hearings speak for themselves." Nov. 16 the Chairman announced public hearings would start in New York Nov. 24.

McCarthy also announced Nov. 16 he is preparing legislation that would remove tax exemptions from foundation funds given to colleges and universities which employ faculty members who invoke the Fifth Amendment in testimony before Congressional committees. The Wisconsin Republican declared colleges received about \$9 billion in such income from foundations in 1952.

Stevens and McCarthy had lunch Nov. 17. Afterward, Stevens said his Nov. 13 statement had been misinterpreted by some newspapers. He added that the reference to "no current proof of espionage" referred only to the Army probe, not to McCarthy's.

SOCIAL SECURITY -- Expenditures for dependent children on the federal, state and local levels increased nearly three-fold between 1945 and 1952, the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Social Security was told Nov. 16 as it continued hearings on operation of the nation's Social Security program. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1333.)

Chairman Carl T. Curtis (R Neb.) said aid to dependent children was \$149,098,000 in 1945 and \$550,879,000 in 1952. He added that the federal government's share was \$49,927,000 in 1947 and \$293,861,000 in 1952.

Curtis said that as of July 1 some 4.4 per cent of all the children in the country under 18 were receiving aid payments. He said 'inequities and weaknesses exist,'' and that '71 per cent of those 65 or over in Louisiana get some government payment while only 28 per cent receive benefits in North Dakota.

NAVY RAGS -- Chairman R. Walter Riehlman's (R N.Y.)
Military Operations Subcommittee of the
House Government Operations Committee was told Nov.
14 that the Navy had purchased substandard machinery
wiping rags from three firms.

Officials of the Government Accounting Office told the Subcommittee that officials or former officials of Grossman and Sons, Columbus, Ohio; Lechner Corporation, Hamilton, Ohio; and Sanitary Wiping Cloth and Burlap Co., Wilkes-Barre, Pa., had shipped substandard rags to the Navy, along with good ones, in transactions totaling nearly \$7 million. A GAO agent said a former vice president of Grossman and Sons stated Navy inspectors were frequently "entertained" and given gifts by the company.

## Reports, Recommendations

INTERNAL REVENUE -- The House Ways and Means Subcommittee which looked into alleged tax frauds during the past two years reported Nov. 16 that there is too much duplication of effort between the Justice Department and Internal Revenue Bureau in dealing with tax fraud cases. This was the second in a series of reports from the Subcommittee to the full Ways and Means unit. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1335.)

The Subcommittee urged "immediate and drastic remedies" be taken to do away with duplication and end wasted manpower.

## Coming Up

VIRGIN ISLANDS -- Sen. Hugh Butler (R Neb.), Chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, announced Nov. 27 that he will conduct informal hearings and conferences on measures to revise the Virgin Islands' Organic Act on Nov. 30 at Charlotte Amalie, capital of the Islands. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1224.)

ARAB REFUGEES -- Sen. Guy M. Gillette (D Iowa) of the Near East and Africa Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said Nov. 19 he plans in the near future to make a Near East tour to check on prospects for rehabilitating displaced Arabs now supported by United Nations funds.

#### On Tour

VISIT RHEE -- Four members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, on a foreign aid and related matters study-trip, conferred Nov. 18 with South Korean President Syngman Rhee. The group consists of Reps. Walter H. Judd (R Minn.), Chairman of the Committee's Far East and Pacific Subcommittee, Marguerite Stitt Church (R III.) of the Subcommittee and E. Ross Adair (R Ind.) and Clement J. Zablocki (D Wis.)

EXPORT-IMPORT -- A joint unit of the House and Senate Banking and Currency Committees met Nov. 17 in Buenos Aires with Argentina's President Juan Peron. Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R Ind.), Chairman of the Senate Committee, said the group talked "very frankly and very satisfactorily" about improving U.S.-Argentina trade. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1336.)

FOREIGN AID -- Rep. Arthur Winstead (D Miss.), just home from a world tour, said Nov. 13 "it is time to stop our economic aid program." Winstead, member of the House Armed Services Committee's special subcommittee to study world security problems, said that the United States "should pick out a few key spots and provide military aid and stop trying to carry the rest of the world." (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1320.)

#### MARTIN ON WHITE

Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin, Jr. (R Mass.) said Nov. 19 from Paris, that the Harry Dexter White case showed "what a happy life Communists, fellow travelers and their sympathizers had in a Democratic Administration." Martin said he believed the White case would intensify efforts of the present Administration to "get rid of every last one of them." (CQ Weekly Report, pp. 1320, 1339, 1366.)

## TRUMAN SPEAKS OUT ON WHITE CASE

Former President Harry S. Truman Nov. 16 said the Eisenhower Administration, through Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., had falsely accused him of "Knowingly betraying the security of the United States."

The former Chief Executive referred to a Nov. 6 statement of Brownell that "Harry Dexter White was known to be a Communist spy by the very people who appointed him" to the International Monetary Fund. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1342.) On Nov. 17, the day following the Truman address, Brownell was questioned by a Senate subcommittee (see page 1361).

Brownell's original statement, Mr. Truman said, was an "attack without parallel, I believe, in the history of our country. I have been accused, in effect, of knowingly betraying the security of the United States. This charge is, of course, a falsehood, and the man who made it had every reason to know it is a falsehood."

In a nation-wide radio-television address, he also asserted the Eisenhower Administration had embraced "McCarthyism" for political advantage. Truman declared his own Administration had begun many programs, starting in 1945 when he became President, to "render the Communist conspiracy ineffective."

### EXPLAINS SUBPENA STAND

He explained why he refused a subpena to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee. "A Congressional committee may not compel the attendance of the President of the United States, while he is in office, to inquire into matters pertaining to the performance of his official duties. If the Constitutional principle were otherwise, the office of President would not be independent.

"It is just as important to the independence of the Executive that the actions of the President should not be subjected to questioning by the Congress after he has completed his term of office..."

Referring to the Brownell charge, Truman said: "A great many documents pass daily through the White House ... when Mr. Brownell made his charges, I was unable to remember the precise documents to which he referred, just as President Eisenhower was unable to remember that he had met with Harry Dexter White and Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau in 1944.

"Of course I knew of the intensive investigation of Communist activity which was then going on ... This investigation was one of the many important steps which my Administration took ... to render the Communist conspiracy ineffective in this country. These steps included the successful prosecution and imprisonment of the top Communist leaders in the U. S."

"As best I can now determine, I first learned of the accusations against White early in February, 1946, when an FBI report ... was brought to my attention ... by General Vaughan ... and Secretary of State Byrnes ....I sent a copy to White's immediate superior, the Secretary of the Treasury, Fred Vinson...Later, I believe it was the same day, I discussed the matter with Vinson ... and Byrnes.

#### "RESPONSIBILITY WAS MINE"

"Vinson consulted with Attorney General Tom Clark and other government officials. When the results of these consultations were reported to me, the conclusion was reached that the appointment (to the IMF) should be allowed to take its normal course. The final responsibility for this decision, of course, was mine.

"The reason ... was that the charges ... also involved many other persons. Hundreds of FBI agents were engaged in investigating the charges ... It was of great importance that the investigation be continued. Any unusual action (on White's appointment) would have alerted all the persons involved ...

"It was originally planned that the U.S. would support White for election to the top managerial position in the Fund. But following the receipt of the FBI report and consultations with members of my cabinet, it was decided that he would be limited to membership on the board of directors.

"The course we took protected the public interest and security and, at the same time permitted the FBI investigation to go forward. No other course would have served both of these purposes."

"The new Administration ... has distorted the decision.
... This is shameful demagoguery. It is worse than that.
Herbert Brownell, Jr., the Attorney General of the U.S. -the highest legal officer in our government -- has degraded the highest function of government, the administration of justice, into cheap political trickery.

"He has made the Department of Justice the headquarters for political skullduggery. The Attorney General not only degraded his office, he has deceived his Chief as to what he proposed to do. ...In backing away from his charge with the mealy-mouthed statement that he had no intention of impugning the loyalty of any high official of the prior Administration, he lied to the American people again.

"In launching this attack, (Brownell) worked hand in glove with the Republican National Committee. ...The powers of the Attorney General have been prostituted for hopes of political gain. No election is worth so much."

#### . . . AND "McCARTHYISM"

"It is now evident the present Administration had fully embraced, for political advantage, McCarthyism. (It) is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of the 'due process' of law. It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism or security. It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth; it is the spread of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of our society.

"This horrible cancer is eating at the vitals of America and it can destroy the great edifice of freedom. "If (the Brownell charge) will serve to alert the people to the terrible danger (of McCarthyism) it will have been a blessing in disguise. I hope this will arouse you to fight this evil at every level of our national life."

### Truman Talk Reaction

Homer Ferguson (R Mich.), Chairman of the GOP Senate Policy Committee, took the air immediately to answer Truman, and on Nov. 17 added that "for the first time, the past Administration admitted they had Communists in their Administration."

McCarthy Nov. 17 asked the major networks for "the same amount of (radio and TV) time" to answer the "dishonest attack upon me" and "my name." NBC and ABC Nov. 17 wired McCarthy an offer of time. Mutual, which carried Truman's speech on radio only, offered radio time. McCarthy Nov. 18 rejected the NBC offer as "not adequate."

Sen. John L. McClellan (D Ark.), a member of the Internal Security Subcommittee (see page 1361), asserted he had often disagreed with Truman, but "I never questioned his loyalty to his country."

Generally, the reaction to Truman's speech split along partisan lines. Adiai Stevenson called the "political attack" on Truman "infamous" since the former President had done "more than anyone else to organize the free world against Communism."

GOP National Chairman Leonard W. Hall Nov. 17 denied the National Committee worked "hand in glove" with Brownell. He asserted the Committee learned of Brownell's Nov. 6 Chicago speech only 10 minutes before it was made.

Gov. James F. Byrnes (D S.C.) declined to comment.

#### Other Developments

Before Truman's speech, White House press secretary James C. Hagerty issued two statements. One emphasized that President Eisenhower had not seen or approved an advance copy of the Nov. 6 Brownell speech in Chicago.

The second cited the President's account, as set forth in his book "Crusade in Europe," of a 1944 conference in England with then-Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr. A page-long discussion of the Morgenthau-Eisenhower talk on the future of Germany makes no reference to Harry Dexter White.

An article, published in the March, 1947, issue of the "United Nations World," credited Eisenhower with providing the "spark" for the so-called Morgenthau Plan for post-war Germany. (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1339.) The article, written by Fred Smith, said the plan was born after Eisenhower, Morgenthau, White and Smith met on Aug. 7, 1944. Smith Nov. 13 said that Eisenhower simply "walked into" the discussion, which was hatched in White's mind. The magazine, now called the "World" has no connection with the United Nations.

#### Other comment:

Democratic National Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell, Nov. 13 -- "Grievous charges, by an Attorney General turned political manager, have been leveled against a Velde On "Precedents"

Chairman Harold H. Velde (R Ill.) of the House Un-American Activities Committee Nov. 19 asserted that the Committee considers its subpena of former President Harry S. Truman as pending. Truman Nov. 12 refused to appear, citing a "long list of precedents". (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1341.)

Velde, in Cleveland to address the National Metal Trades Association, asserted that Truman did not include the appearance of President John Tyler "before a Congressional committee in 1846 ... some 15 months after he terminated his office."

A select House committee, in 1846, investigated charges that Daniel Webster, Secretary of State from 1841-1843, was guilty of "official misconduct" during his term of office. According to H Rept 684, 29th Congress, First Session, dated June 9, 1846, former President Tyler gave testimony, by deposition, in the inquiry.

The last page of the committee report recommended that the testimony be "sealed up by the Clerk, endorsed 'confidential' and deposited in the archives of the House." The report added that the "same be not opened unless by its (the House's) order."

The complete 107-year-old record has never been reopened although parts of it were released on June 17, 1846, a few days after the original order. Tyler apparently was not subpenaed. According to a biographer of Webster's, George T. Curtis, Tyler appeared voluntarily.

man who did as much as any man in all the world to defeat communism, Harry S. Truman,"

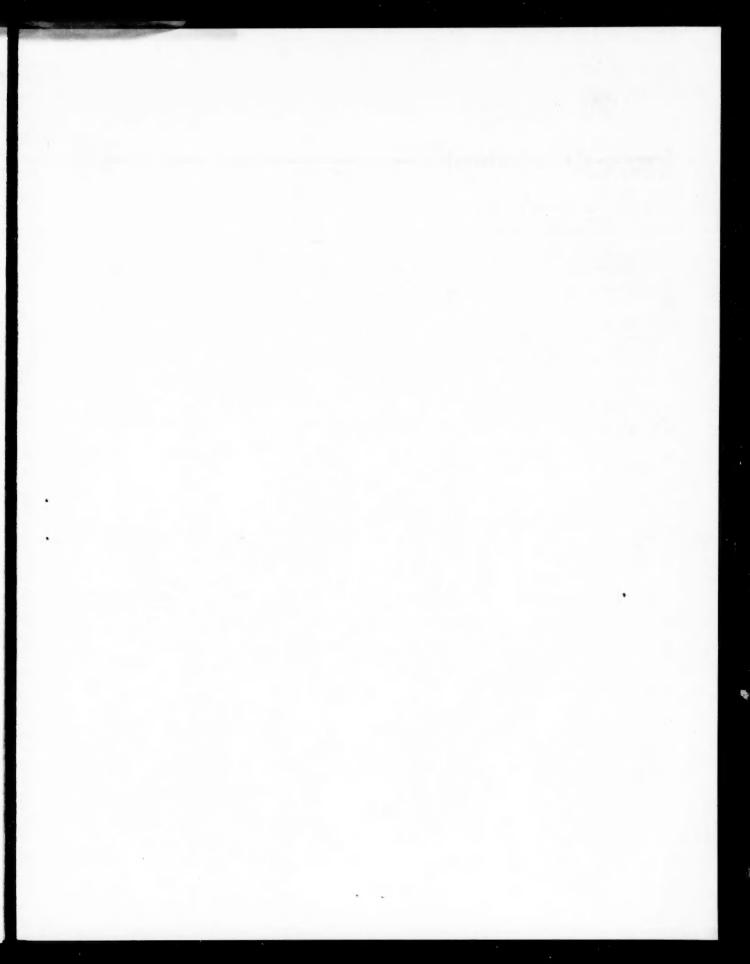
Sen. A.S. (Mike) Monroney (D Okla.), Nov. 13 -"(Brownell) should be prosecuting live Communists instead of devoting his time to an alleged Communist now
dead for more than five years."

At his press conference Nov. 18 (See page 1358), President Eisenhower said he hoped all Communists would be out of government by the 1954 elections, and that they would not be an issue in the campaign. Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D S.C.) disagreed. He said he expects a Democratic election victory next year and "when the Democrats take over we'll have to look further into that problem ... and keep Communists cleaned out." "Investigating committees," said Johnston, "go on like babbling brooks."

Rep. <u>Eugene J. McCarthy</u> (D Minn.) Nov. 17 said he was considering an impeachment resolution against Brownell, unless the Attorney General resigned. Brownell "asked Eisenhower for a hunting license without telling him what he was going to shoot," McCarthy declared.

Senate majority leader <u>William F. Knowland</u> (R Calif.) declared Nov. 18 the issue in the White case was the "laxity" of the Truman Administration.

Newly-appointed Sen. <u>Thomas A. Burke</u> (D Ohio) (CQ Weekly Report, p. 1244.) Nov. 19 said he saw nothing wrong in Republicans bringing up the case. "I think when Brownell questioned Truman's loyalty, he was guilty of bad taste," (but) the people are "fed up with communism in and out of government."



# $\overline{c_Q}$

## -congressional quiz

 Q--Now that this years' scheduled special elections are over, what is the political line-up in the House of Representatives?

A--The election of Glenard P. Lipscomb (R) Nov. 10 in the 24th California District leaves the 435-member House divided as follows: Republicans, 219, Democrats, 215, independent, one. In addition to the California vacancy, seven other House vacancies in seven other states were filled by special elections since the start of the 83rd Congress.

Q--I've been reading about the Townsend Plan for old age pensions again. Just what would it do?

A--The plan proposes a federal pay-as-you-go system of monthly payments to all citizens of the United States 60 years of age or older, or between 18 and 60 who are totally blind or otherwise disabled. Payments, which would vary according to the level of prices and business activity, would come from a fund financed by a tax of two per cent on all personal income over \$250 a month.

3. Q -- How is Congressional seniority determined?

A--Congressional seniority is based upon length of continuous service. Although it is unofficial and there are no rules concerning it here's the way it works: Terms of service for Congressmen and Senators elected in a general election begin when they are sworn in; in the case of Senators (who can be elected or appointed) or Representatives (who can only be elected) to fill vacancies, the term of service begins with the date of election or appointment; in the case of two legislators elected, or sworn in on the same day, the one with prior service as Senator, Governor, or Representative, in that order, becomes senior.

4. Q--How old is the House Un-American Activities Committee?

A -- The present Committee, a "standing" one that is continued automatically from Congress to Congress, was created in 1945, during the first session of the 79th Congress. It has had four Chairmen during that time, Reps. Edward J. Hart (D N.J.), John S. Wood (D Ga.), J. Parnell Thomas (R N.J.) and Harold H. Velde (R Ill.). A Special Committee on Un-American Activities, which was not continuous and was reestablished by each new Congress, was Chairmaned from 1938 to 1944 by Rep. Martin Dies (D Tex.). A special committee to investigate Communist propaganda, under former Rep. Hamilton Fish (R N.Y.) operated in 1930 and 1931, and another to probe Fascist, Communist and other subversives operated under the leadership of Rep. John W. McCormack (D Mass.) from 1934 to 1935.

 Q--I read that President Eisenhower vetoed 10 measures passed by Congress in the first session. Is that very many?

A--The record for vetoes is held by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt who refused to sign 631 bills during his 12-year tenure of office. Nine of his vetoes were overridden. Former President Harry S. Truman vetoed 250 measures, was overridden on 12 in almost eight years. The last Republican President, Herbert C. Hoover, vetoed 37 measures, had three overridden, in four years.

6. Q--Are the Republicans planning to "put up a fight" in the Southern states in 1954?

A--National Chairman Leonard Hall and other GOP leaders who have toured the South recently say they are encouraged over Republican prospects to retain some of the 1952 Democrats-for Eisenhower vote there. In Alabama, Georgia, Texas and other states below the Mason and Dixon line, Republicans feel they have a better chance to build a stronger two-party system than at any time since 1928. Alabama will have its first statewide GOP primary in almost 30 years in May, 1954.

7. Q--What is being done about Universal Military Training?

A--The five-member National Security Training Commission, charged with the supervision of, and recommendations for, UMT, is slated to make its report to President Eisenhower by Dec. 1, 1953. The NSTC was established under terms of the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951.

NOTE: CQ Weekly Report and Almanac pages on which additional data may be found: (1) 1331, (2) 1266, (6) 1332, (7) CQ Almanac, Vol. VII, 1951, p. 274.